

IN THESE TIMES

MACHINIST
FIGHTS
MACHINE



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Dec. 20-26, 1978

50 Cents

UNDERWATER ASSASSINS

For 15 years the Navy
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dolphins, whales and
sea lions to kill their
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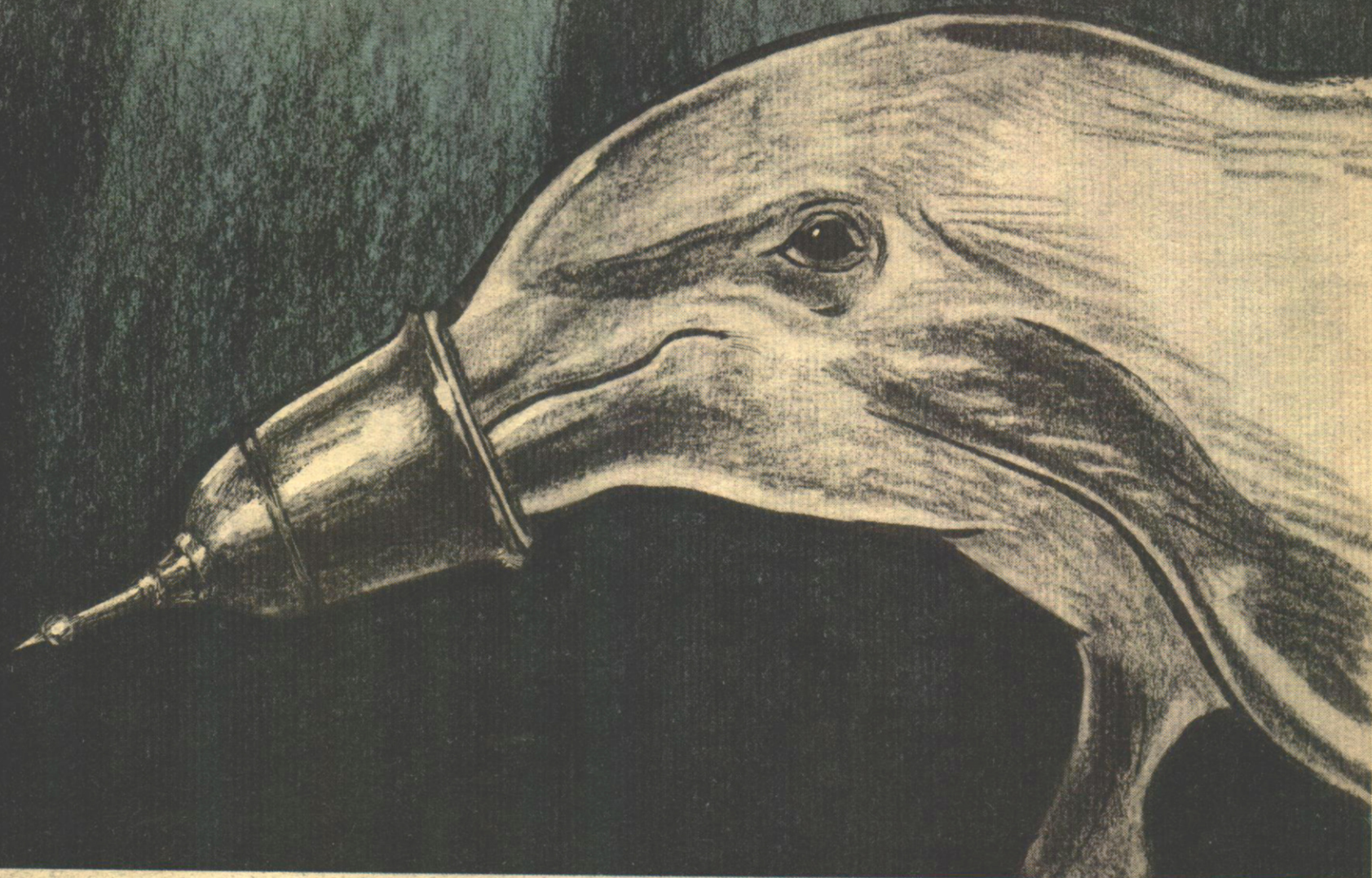


Illustration by Tom Greensfelder

THE INSIDE STORY

Guest Column by Jane Hilowitz



Robert Mugabe.

Southern African blacks welcomed in Rome

In a unique move for a Western country, Italy's new six governing political parties gave a very warm and, what is more important, united welcome over the past two weeks to top leaders of the Southern African liberation movements—the South West African Peoples' Organization of Namibia (SWAPO), ZAPU, and ZANU of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), and the African National Congress of South Africa. A two-day conference held in the left-governed Northern Italian city of Reggio Emilia was heavily attended by representatives of all the democratic parties and of the government. The following week the African leaders were accorded a private audience with the Pope, which they themselves had requested.

In these settings, as well as in press conferences and private meetings with political leaders, including the President of the Republic, the movement leaders described the terrible situations of their peoples: the arrests, tortures and assassinations of those who sympathize with the cause of national independence and self-determination, and the bombings and massacres of helpless refugees from the battle areas or the racist regimes.

The conference, sponsored by all three Italian trade unions as well as the six democratic political parties, had important results. A pledge was elicited from the Italian government to prevent all arms shipments to South Africa and Rhodesia and to force observance of the UN Resolutions that place an embargo on all support to these countries. The government will also pressure other countries, through the EEC, NATO, and other international organizations, to take similar action.

Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress, correctly pointed out after the Reggio Emilia conference that the Italian government's commitments were a "victory of the Italian people" but he remarked that "help must not remain purely at the level of declarations." In fact, all the leaders, while heartened by the show of solidarity, are waiting to see concrete results.

The thorniest issue is the continuing supplies of arms to both Rhodesia and South Africa from France, Belgium, the U.S. and other Western countries. The Italian government maintains that all Italian arms shipments ceased in 1977, but the nation's powerful metalworkers' union, the FLM, claims that shipments are still continuing; there is, moreover, information that Italian-owned companies in South Africa are producing weapons.

Often shipments proceed to Southern Africa via intermediary nations, so that their final destination remains unknown. Italian longshoremen and sailors have pledged, through their unions, to warn the government in such cases.

Non-military help to the liberation movements will take the form of a Ship of Solidarity—a ship carrying contributions of food, medical and other supplies from all over Italy to the port of Luanda.

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Pope pledges support.

But it was clear from their final press conference that at least some of the African leaders considered their 20-minute audience with Pope John Paul II the high point of their Italian visit. "We turned to the Pope as the leader of a community of faithful the world over, as someone who can make an appeal to the world to express its opposition to apartheid and racism," explained George Silundika of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front.

The Pope not only expressed his own moral support for the liberation movements but promised to bring their struggles to the attention of all Christians. "This was a great source of moral inspiration for our political work," said one African leader appreciatively.

The African leaders who came to Italy are consummate politicians who understood the importance of Italy's political support. The question of military support is, however, a crucial one now, for in southern Africa these leaders already face limited warfare and the threat of wider war looms. The UN Resolution of 1960 which established the right of all peoples to self-determination and the integrity of their national territory has been honored only in the breach in both Namibia and Rhodesia.

In Namibia, South Africa has rejected UN-supervised elections that would bring a measure of independence and the hope of a peaceful transition. The rejection undoubtedly stems from SWAPO's strength in Namibia, which would have been evidenced at the polls. The South Africans are now planning to hold rigged elections themselves on Dec. 17; and the Italians, at least, have vowed not to recognize them. (Earlier, a UN investigatory team had estimated that to hold fair, UN-supervised elections in Namibia would have required 7,500 UN troops, a figure with which SWAPO concurred.)

Any peaceful future for Namibia has been threatened and SWAPO is being forced to consider a return to the battlefield. Its enemy is receiving notable international help. A chemical weapons plant has just been completed in the Orange Free State, the bulk of the funds being provided by West Germany. It is likely that the weapons produced will be employed against liberation movements in both Namibia and Rhodesia.

West Germany has also provided South Africa with nuclear technology; the recipient is not a signatory to the nuclear non-proliferation pact. And although Willy Brandt of Germany's Social Democratic Party raised a voice of alarm about nuclear weapons at the recent Vancouver conference of the Socialist International, his influential party has done nothing to curb Germany's contributions to South Africa.

Britain, as is well known, has been systematically violating the UN trade embargo imposed on Rhodesia, and a scandal broke two months ago about the oil supplied to that country by both British Petroleum and Shell.

Danger of split.

In Rhodesia the current situation is even more complex than in Namibia. In recent months the Smith forces have virulently attacked neighboring Mozambique, and thousands of unarmed Rhodesian refugees have lost their lives. Fifteen hundred American mercenaries seeking other Vietnams have been flown in to help Smith in these "anti-guerilla" activities.

Robert Mugabe, president of the Zimbabwe Patriotic Front, recently outlined in Rome the most likely scenario for Rhodesia's future. Great Britain and the U.S. have been encouraging the liberation forces to take part in an "all-party" conference, and the president of the Labor party's parliamentary group has already flown to Africa to organize it. The aim of such a conference

would be to set up a transitional government of four Patriotic Front representatives and four representatives from the present regime, with Smith's forces remaining in military control of the country. Smith himself would be dispensed with, since his position is no longer internationally tenable.

The Patriotic Front has refused to participate in either the conference or the shadow "neo-colonialist" government it proposes to establish. Instead, according to Mugabe, the Front will "conduct the necessary political action to impede these plans from being realized. "But," he emphasized, "a very dangerous situation could arise."

The British have been pressuring Joshua Nkomo, the leader of the other branch of the liberation movement, ZAPU, to take part in the conference, which would split the two movements. The USSR also seems to be encouraging such a split. At the moment, despite public appeals from both Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania, and from Samora Machel, president of Mozambique, that Soviet military help be given to ZANU as well as ZAPU, and despite the assurances given in private to Mugabe, Nkomo is still the only recipient of Russian arms. He thus occupies a strange and ambiguous position of great international significance: he is at the same time the repository of both British and Soviet machinations regarding Rhodesia's future.

Britain is also attempting to split the Patriotic Front away from the other "frontline" countries that openly support it. Zambia's support is wavering, having been weakened by a sizeable loan from the International Monetary Fund (Zambia is the only southern African country to have received such a loan). That the British have moved troops, arms and missiles into Zambia is also an ominous portent.

Neither pro-Soviet nor pro-Chinese.

Mugabe's position, as he expressed it recently in Italy, is that the two wings of the Zimbabwe liberation movement should forge greater unity, not less. (It is important that both wings were present in the African delegation to Italy.) And although Mugabe has approached not only the USSR but also Bulgaria for military aid, and has also had fruitful talks with Castro, he does not advocate a pro-Soviet any more than a pro-Chinese alignment for his country. "Our position is clear," he said. "We want to have good relations with both the USSR and China, and we don't want to join in the conflict between them. We have told both the Soviets and Chinese: we do not want to import your conditions as well as your friendship."

Last July, I.F. Stone wrote in the *New York Review of Books* that "the key issues in Africa are to prevent civil and racial war in Rhodesia and Namibia, settle peacefully the conflicts in both areas, and then press South Africa toward a sane adjustment in its racial policies. Both Washington and Moscow have common interests in this because a failure could so worsen their relations as to endanger the peace of the entire world."

This peaceful settlement may no longer be possible, if it ever was. Instead Mugabe's search for arms reflects the harsh reality—that in Rhodesia, as in Namibia, a wider peoples' war is on the agenda. The African leaders who came to Italy made their determination to continue fighting for this cause, and for self-determination, more than clear.

Mugabe recognizes that not all sympathetic nations are able to demonstrate their support for the liberation movements of these areas militarily, and for this reason he attaches importance to the non-military solidarity of a nation like Italy. The mobilization of public opinion can bear weight in both pan-European organs like NATO and the European Community, and also on those countries that supply military aid to the enemies:

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IN THE NATION

POLITICS

Discontented Democrats give Carter the Memphis blues

By John Judis

MEMPHIS

I TRAVELED THROUGH A BLIZZARD on my way to Memphis. There, I found rain, cold and a bad case of low expectations. "I'm frustrated, and we are all going to be frustrated as time goes on, because this conference was designed to frustrate us," Michael Harrington told an opposition group at a Thursday meeting at Memphis' Holiday Inn the night before the 1978 Democratic mid-term conference was to begin. With the support of the Machinists, the UAW, and public officials like John Conyers, Ron Dellums, and Donald Fraser, Harrington's Democratic Agenda group was planning to offer resolutions critical of Jimmy Carter's administration.

Harrington was not entirely wrong. Carter came out on top in the major votes. While there was some dissatisfaction with Carter's recent decision to slash the social service budget and to enlarge the military budget, most delegates were largely satisfied with his presidency and were not looking elsewhere for 1980, whether to Ted Kennedy or Jerry Brown.

But the Democratic Agenda forces did accomplish something. In the face of formidable political threats and bureaucratic obstacles, they got their resolutions on the floor, where they received 40 percent support. And they continued to forge a left-wing coalition in the Democratic Party.

From LBJ to Jimmy.

In the late '60s, in the wake of Lyndon Johnson's prosecution of the Vietnam war, Democratic reform forces hit upon the idea of a midterm convention. It was supposed to make incumbent Democratic presidents more accountable to the party. The convention, mandated in 1972, was to be devoted to issues rather than candidates.

Jimmy Carter, as he acknowledged in Memphis, opposed the midterm convention, fearing it would encourage divisiveness and undermine a President's support. As the 1978 convention approached, he did what he could to prevent it from being a forum to evaluate his administration.

When he decided that Democratic National Committee (DNC) chairman Ken Curtis was being too conciliatory toward the labor liberal wing of the party, Carter replaced him last December with Texan John C. White, a protégé of Robert Strauss.

White engineered, in the DNC, a rule that raised from 8 to 25 percent the proportion of delegate signatures needed to get an opposition resolution on the floor. Moreover, he got a requirement that, along with the necessary signatures, any opposition resolution would have to be submitted before the convention began. And even if they were approved for discussion, they would only be considered on the last day, after the official resolutions had been voted on—that is, after most people had gone home.

White also played down the convention itself. It became a "conference" rather than a convention. With political boredom running high anyway, there was little interest in the district meetings last summer and fall designed to choose delegates to the conference. "We've never seen such small meetings," Ohio delegate Roy Lieb said.

"In Massachusetts, a feeling of powerlessness permeated the entire political es-



Carter aide Hamilton Jordan lobbies delegates on Sunday, Dec. 10, during the vote on Democratic Agenda resolutions. Upper right: Democratic Agenda organizer Marjorie Phyfe talks to the press after a caucus meeting on Dec. 9.

Who's left in 1980 elections?

While the majority of delegates at Memphis still support Jimmy Carter for president in 1980 there were serious rumblings on the left of alternative candidates and even parties.

•William Winpisinger's Machinists Union passed out Kennedy buttons. At a press conference, where he called for public ownership of the energy industry, Winpisinger also said that if "we can't make this a Democratic party, I'd say, 'yeah' to a third party."

•California congressman Ron Dellums said he would consider running for president if "we could mobilize the constituency that is out there." Dellums said that if Carter's approach continues to dominate politics, "progressives have to marshal a challenge if for no other reason than survival."

establishment on this event," delegate Jerome Grossman said.

But small meetings and popular discontent didn't create a pro-administration house. Hardcore Democratic activists tend to be more feminist, anti-racist, anti-militarist, and pro-social spending than the average Democrat. With the convention coming on the heels of Carter's abdication on natural gas deregulation and his announcement of social spending cuts and military budget increases for 1979, this activist core came to Memphis ready for a fight.

On Thursday night, as over 500 delegates and press discussed the Democratic Agenda's plans, one could see trouble ahead for the administration. The 25 percent rule had not prevented indefatigable Democratic Agenda organizer Marjorie Phyfe from getting the needed signatures for resolutions on inflation, energy, health insurance, and on Thursday night they

•Democratic Agenda chairman Michael Harrington said of his own candidacy that he is "thinking, only thinking, but if things go on, there has to be a challenge." He would prefer a "serious challenge" from Ted Kennedy, but would also consider an educational campaign.

•Campaign for Economic Democracy leader Tom Hayden told a press conference that he and Jane Fonda were planning an Indochina Peace Campaign-style tour of the West and Northeast next fall to build support for an alternative politics in the Democratic Party, based on the idea of economic democracy. CED members acknowledged that the tour could dovetail into an anti-Carter presidential challenge, but they deny that they are pledged to Jerry Brown's candidacy.

were already on their way to securing the signatures for a fifth—on Carter's budget cuts.

With UAW president Doug Fraser leading the fight—an unprecedented move for a union official at a Democratic convention—DNC chairman White began to retreat. He agreed to have the five resolutions considered at the same time as the DNC resolutions.

"He was just being fair," Minnesota Democratic Farmer-Labor party head Rick Scott commented. But Harrington was more skeptical. "We forced him to open the convention," he said.

Welcome back, Carter.

The convention opened to the worst December in Memphis history—freezing temperatures and driving rain mixed with ice. Transported by buses from over 30 motels spread over Memphis, the 1,600 delegates and some 6,000 other visitors

and press convened at the Cook Convention Center.

Opening night was pure Jimmy Carter. The only thing Carter and the DNC had no control over was the National Anthem. The rendition by the Memphis State University Band sounded like one of those Gil Evans-Miles Davis big band numbers of the late '50s, full of minor chords and subtle harmonies.

There followed, however, the usual tributes to Memphis, Tenn., the South, America, the free world and, of course, the Carter administration. A film about Carter was shown, which had all the authenticity of one of those films about colleges that they show on TV in the half-time of college football games. It was all triumph, no adversity, set in an unimaginable land of quiet prosperity and happy people.

Not even the parade of oratorical and cinematic platitudes had dampened my interest in seeing and hearing Carter firsthand. But once his speech began, the atmosphere of regal pomp and self-importance surrounding this man—who is the most powerful man in the world—combined with the utter mediocrity of the speech to produce a deep depression.

Carter's speaking style, learned at the foot of a metronome, has a way of turning ideas into mere words. The supportive crowd had to strain to find reasons for applause; and they only found it at the mention of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The speech's content did little to appease those Democrats already angry with Carter. He called again for a "strong defense" and "short-term [economic] sacrifices." When he concluded with a plea for help in securing ratification of SALT II, his situation in Washington once again became clear: a moderate president, hedged in by unsavory economic alternatives, and by a fresh blast of cold-warriorism that he helped to create.

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Photos/John Judis

ACORN demonstrators assemble outside the Democratic convention on Saturday, Dec. 9. Inset: ACORN's president Steve McDonald huddles in the cold.

Democrats midterm convention

Continued from page 3.

On Saturday, the White-Carter bandwagon got derailed. Saturday was to be devoted to 24 workshops led by panels of experts and public officials. Carter would personally attend the morning workshops on inflation and defense.

The inflation panel was dominated by Carter supporters like Alfred Kahn and Charles Schultze and balance-the-budget governors like Florida's Robert Graham and North Carolina's James B. Hunt.

But the delegates in the audience were from the Democrats' activist core, and as soon as the panelists were finished, they let fly their criticism and complaints at the panelists and then at Carter himself, who entered halfway through the session.

Charles Perkel, Service Employees Union member from San Jose, Calif., took umbrage at the moderator's request that the delegates ask questions of the panelists. "I think it is most inappropriate," Perkel said, "to expect these people who are leaders of the Democratic Party in their communities to come here and listen for an hour to a panel discussion and then only ask questions instead of airing the concerns which they have come here to express."

Perkel, to persistent applause, expressed his: the Carter program was attempting to solve the nation's economic problems "by putting the burden on those least able to afford it." District of Columbia trade unionist Ruth Jordan attacked the panel for the absence of any labor or minority representatives; Texan Doug Seals berated the Carter administration for a farm policy that didn't distinguish the plight of the small farmer from the profits of the large middlemen; Missouri businesswoman Vivian Eveloff questioned the rise in defense spending, and James Fite of Baltimore asked Carter why he adopt-

ed the inflation remedies of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In his response to his critics, Carter was conciliatory on social spending, but uncompromising on the need to increase defense expenditures. "I do not have any apology to make for maintaining a strong defense," he told the delegates.

Kennedy speaks.

The national health insurance workshop was scheduled for late afternoon, usually the worst time at a conference. But with Ted Kennedy on the panel, the delegates packed the auditorium.

Kennedy dealt the Carter-White forces another blow. He didn't hesitate to criticize the administration's budget plans and to urge the immediate, rather than "phased-in" adoption of national health insurance. And he gave a speech that Milwaukee city councilman Terry Pitts and other delegates described as the best they had ever heard.

Teddy Kennedy's electrifying speech sent Democratic party officials into secret meetings to try to stem the rising anti-Carter tide.

As Kennedy has grown more isolated in the Senate, his passionate advocacy of government responsibility toward the poor has grown. Perhaps he now sees himself as a martyr; more likely, he knows that a recession is in the offing and that positions that now seem merely "moral" will become realistic political options in a year or two.

The speech's profound impact stemmed from the combination of Kennedy's appeals to equality and his willingness to acknowledge, rather than hide, his own privileged inheritance. In a moving conclusion, Kennedy recounted how his father, his son, and then he himself had been struck down by prolonged illnesses that would have bankrupted the average American family. He had been able to afford it, Kennedy explained; in fact, he had been able to afford the best of medical care. He wanted all Americans to have the same security that he had.

'Regular folks' stage a counter-convention

In Memphis' funky old Loew's theater, six blocks away from the Cook Convention Center where the Democratic midterm convention was meeting, Mary Jacobsen, a middle-aged South Dakotan who one might expect to meet in the front yard of a prairie farmhouse, was leading 1,500 ACORN delegates in a rousing rendition of "The People United Shall Never Be Defeated."

The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now was holding its first national meeting to bring together angry housewives from Missouri, senior citizens from Philadelphia, unemployed black teenagers from Little Rock, and Chicano families from Texas to demand that the Democrats "stop listening to big business and the oil companies."

ACORN is composed of 20,000 families in 14 states. It was founded in Arkansas in 1971 by veterans of the Welfare Rights Organization. Its members have low-to-moderate incomes; they have done everything from getting stoplights on a busy Memphis street corner to winning lifeline utility rates for Arkansas citizens. It is militantly multi-racial in its composition and leadership.

ACORN's first national convention was designed to counter the larger Democratic one. "Every two years the Democratic Party spends a fortune to hold its national convention," ACORN president Steve McDonald, a black IBM administrator from Little Rock, explained. "The party leaders get together to congratulate themselves on the fine job they've done. But this time, thousands of regular folks have come by the busload to deliver their

own message to the Democratic administration, and that message is, "You've done nothing for us."

UAW president Doug Fraser and Congressmen John Conyers (MI) and Mickey Leland (TX) left the Democratic convention to come address the 1,500 ACORN delegates who had weathered snow and rain to come to Memphis. (The Colorado delegation had arrived on Saturday morning after a 30-hour bus ride, only to leave by bus at 10:00 that night.)

At their convention, the ACORN delegates adopted a platform that called for controls on bank loans, progressive tax reform, a National Lifeline plan, national health insurance controlled by local boards on which lower-income people are fully represented, and action to guarantee full employment and every person's right to decent housing.

ACORN plans now to remain active on a national level. "We're mad as hell and we don't want to be ignored anymore," delegate Elana Hangii from Little Rock told the convention. "The Democrats are not listening to us. They're listening to big business, the oil companies. In 1980, they're not going to make their decisions without ACORN being a part of it. We're going to organize the whole nation wherever we find low or moderate income people. We're going to take over county Democratic Party committees."

During lunchtime, the ACORN delegates marched to Cook Convention Center, where they attracted some curiosity from Democratic Party delegates.

—John Judis

whether the resolution would embarrass the President.

But DNC head White appealed directly to that question. "The American people trust Jimmy Carter, the Congress trusts Jimmy Carter, and this conference ought to trust Jimmy Carter," he said.

In defending the energy and inflation resolutions, Harrington tried to counteract the DNC's claim that the resolutions would bring on socialism. "I want you to know," he told the delegates, "that these lights are procured from a publicly-owned energy corporation established by the Democratic Party, which gives us cheap energy."

But Texas Attorney General John Hill responded: "How would you like the federal government to come in and set up a corporation in your business?"

The three resolutions received about 40 percent of the votes. The Southern states were very strong in favor of the administration positions, while other regions were evenly divided. The District of Columbia, feeling the effect of administration pressure, went eight-to-five against the budget resolution. Illinois, with the ghost of Mayor Daley hovering above the delegates, cast all 72 votes against the resolution, in spite of misgivings about urban aid cuts. California and New York supported the resolution, but only by narrow margins.

Two different majorities.

Contrary to Fraser's wishes, the vote was not on the issues, but on Carter. This was most evident among black and white liberal Southerners who oppose Carter's budget cuts but remain intensely loyal to the President. "I take a pretty dim view of budget cuts as they affect human services," I.D. Newman, of South Carolina, said. But he voted against the resolution because he thought that generally Carter had "done a good job." Texas and Mississippi delegates were less begrudging in their praise: Carter had done an "exceptional job," according to Odell Gray of Waynesboro, Miss.

The delegates were divided politically into three camps:

- Conservatives like North Carolina Gov. Hunt, who advocate balanced budgets, oppose national health insurance and any measure that threatens free en-

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PEOPLES TEMPLE



Peoples Temple children hold sign aloft at San Francisco demonstration against the threatened demolition of International Hotel.

S.F. left protected Jones from public exposure of terror

By David Moberg

SAN FRANCISCO

OUTSIDE OF INTERNATIONAL Hotel, the threatened home of many low-income people on the edge of San Francisco's Chinatown, several thousand leftists and community activists, largely white, had gathered to protest eviction and demolition plans one day in January 1977.

Suddenly their ranks swelled. A fleet of buses had pulled up. Out of them flowed between one and two thousand demonstrators—the majority black, many of them obviously from poor or working-class families, many of them very young or very old. They were disciplined and enthusiastic as they sang, chanted and marched. Then they all departed just as abruptly as they had arrived.

They were members of Peoples Temple, the "church" run by Rev. Jim Jones out of the huge old yellow brick, closely guarded former synagogue on Geary St. in the Fillmore or Western Addition neighborhood, one of the poorest, blackest sections of the city. The other demonstrators were impressed. Jones had proven again, as he had for various liberal politicians and leftist causes, that he could "turn out the troops."

In a city without a disciplined political machine, aspiring officials appreciated that power. At a time when the left's star was fading, Bay Area socialists respected Jones' ability to create such a large, varied, enthusiastic organization espousing socialist ideas and including so

Bay Area left leaders continue to stress Jones' adherence to socialist principles and refuse to condemn him outright.

many "real people" (non-intellectuals).

In the aftermath of the Jonestown, Guyana, suicide-murder, many of those people now recall things that were "weird," "creepy," or suspicious about Jones and Peoples Temple: its confusing mix of a religious cover and irreligious socialist rhetoric for the members, the extreme devotion of followers to Jim Jones, Jones' faith healing, the heavy security, the hermetically closed church community, the apparent manipulation of information to give observers a good impression and the trickle of very bizarre charges of brutality and "mind control" made by former Jones devotees.

Yet, like Jones' liberal politician friends and much of the press, people on the left were reluctant to criticize Peoples Temple and ignored or denied most of the troubling signs. After all, the argument generally went, isn't Peoples Temple "objectively progressive"—and mainly black, as a bonus? Aren't the attacks on the Temple very much like the tactics used by the FBI in its COINTELPRO subversion against other groups, such as the Black Panthers? We may have our doubts and questions, went the discussions, but is it proper for the left to air its stained laun-

dry in public and give the right ammunition to use against us?

At least a few people on the left are now wondering about the wisdom of such decisions, but others continue to defend Jones and the Peoples Temple as a progressive organization that went berserk somewhere near the end or was even destroyed by hostile conspirators.

Jones had at best "episodic" involvements with leftist groups and causes in the Bay Area during the mid-'70s. He seemed much more interested in political officeholders, such as the late Mayor George Moscone, District Attorney Joe Freitas, former Lt. Gov. Mervyn Dymally, or state assemblyman Willie Brown. "Jones played with the left," socialist activist Michael Kazin says, "but his strength was outside—mostly liberal politicians."

Jones could use elected dignitaries to enhance his reputation. His support for a candidate—such as Moscone—could also yield appointments for Jones (chairman of the San Francisco Housing Authority until August 1977) or for his associates. Many of them were in sensitive positions where they could learn about any pending difficulties for the Temple and head off investigations. Jones may have ultimately wanted great power, but much of his political activity seemed more aimed at providing the Temple protection.

Within the Western Addition, however, and in black organizations, such as the NAACP and the Black Leadership Forum, Jones sought substantial control and influence. The poor, depressed, and crime-plagued neighborhood lacked solid organization. The main force, the churches, had lost some of their crusading spirit. Jones moved in with a powerful social gospel that used religious forms to attack religion. He offered a variety of programs to meet immediate needs—medical care, day care for children, employment counseling, free food, drug and alcoholism rehabilitation, care for the aged.

Soon many black ministers saw his growing congregation as a threat, although black leftists in the community, such as newspaper publisher Dr. Carlton Goodlett, and alternative high school principal Yvonne Golden, supported Jones vigorously.

Despite their misgivings and sporadic acquaintance with Jones, most other leftists in the Bay Area had many reasons to

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be impressed, even awed. Peoples Temple claimed 20,000 members in California. It distributed a newspaper, *Peoples Forum*, to hundreds of thousands of households with articles about fascist torture in Chile, racism in the Supreme Court's Bakke decision, the innocence of the Wilmington 10, evils of South African apartheid, success of socialism in Cuba and, of course, the projects and accomplishments of Peoples Temple under Jim Jones.

Jones took up the cause of leftist celebrities, such as Angela Davis or American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks, when they were attacked. His dedicated, diverse congregation joined rallies and marches on all these topics, often providing most of the blacks who attended.

Jones, the civil libertarian, mobilized his letter-writing brigades, whose attention most often turned to praising Jim Jones and trying to dissuade newspapers from investigating him, against the legally repressive federal criminal code revision, S-1. He rallied over a thousand marchers in defense of the *Fresno Bee* Four, journalists jailed for keeping their notes confidential, and backed *Los Angeles Times* reporter William Farr in a similar case. In retrospect, his support of the press seems to have been calculated to stop bad publicity or even routine investigations.

Jones' efforts to stop articles in the *San Francisco Chronicle* and in *New West*, which eventually published a critical piece despite earlier hesitations, are now well-known. But Jones also stopped publication of an earlier investigation by Chester Hartman and Tom Brower for the socialist newspaper, *Common Sense*, distributed by the Northern California Alliance.

Hartman says he was put off by the "staged" quality of his tour of the Temple, by the tight security, and by the difficulty in seeing Jones, who ultimately refused to let him take notes or tape his interview. Hartman's account eventually balanced praise for the Temple's work with questions and mild criticism (for example, that Jones had not used his clout on the Housing Authority to aid the International Hotel movement).

Hartman showed the article to Jones, who denounced him as an agent. "How could you do this to me?" Jones demanded. Immediately leaders of the Alliance were bombarded with phone calls from Temple members and influential politicians with one basic message: Jim Jones is a great guy; don't run the article.

Alliance leaders were surprised, confused and even scared by the response. Some people had doubts about publishing the article since virtually all of the reporters' sources were unwilling to speak on the record. But others argued that it was politically wrong to run it, saying, as Hartman recalls, "Here is a black group, doing things on the left, outright socialists even. Why are we, a comradely publication, doing this to them?"

Others argued that, whatever the Temple's faults, it was "principally" a progressive organization under "attack by the bourgeoisie," and therefore the left should defend it publicly, keeping any criticism private. Some people, arguing that whites had no right to criticize a largely black group, denounced the proposed article as "racist."

"It was like what happened with the [Black] Panthers," a former *Common Sense* editorial board member says. "The fact that the base of Peoples Temple was principally black made the left susceptible of being enamored of them. It's a real reflection of our own isolation."

Still others argued that the apparent authoritarianism and discipline or the faith-healing were excusable, perhaps even necessary, for a group to attract and organize poor people, especially blacks.

Later, when the press accounts of physical abuses, deception, psychological coercion and financial corruption within the Temple began, "the whole city was sure that it was a set-up, that the government was out to get Jones," Bonnie Ladin, former northern California organizer for the Campaign for Economic Democracy, recalls. With leading leftists still defending Jones and noted lawyer Charles Garry now handling Temple legal matters, the suspicions of right-wing or FBI plots against Jones seemed plausible.

Continued on page 18.

DISARMAMENT

Anti-war stalwarts take on arms race

By Dick Goldensohn

WHAT WE CAN NOW PROJECT," William Sloane Coffin Jr. wrote recently, "is that in a few years time, if things continue this way, an American computer will misread an American radar screen.... Our missiles will be launched, whereupon the Soviet computer, accurately reading the Soviet radar screen, will launch Soviet missiles.... That will be the end of both countries, and no human being will have made a decision."

Coffin was explaining his own decision as the new Senior Minister of New York's prestigious Rockefeller-built and endowed Riverside Church, to launch a major national campaign for disarmament.

Last week, a two-day convocation attended by as many as 2,500 people, formally launched the educational campaign for the religious community. The drive will seek, initially, to involve religious groups in helping to make disarmament a major national issue in the coming years.

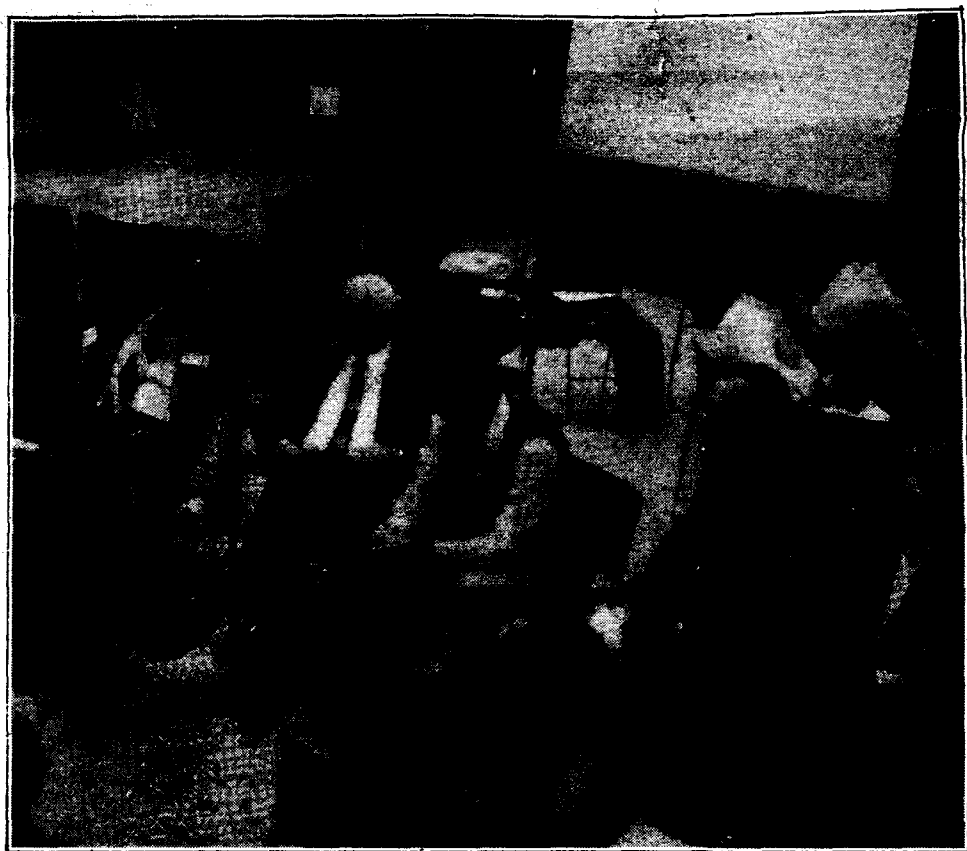
The conference, called "Reverse the Arms Race," will serve as a model for a series of regional "Riverside-on-the-Road" conferences, according to its organizer,

Despite pessimism about the potential for success, Coffin, Weiss, and Dellums opened a major new campaign to end the arms race.

Cora Weiss. "Our main purpose at this conference was to get the ball rolling and we've done it," she said.

Conference speakers stressed the burdensome effects of the arms race. Congressman Ronald V. Dellums (D-CA), who spoke Monday night, urged "a large scale program of economic conversion to a peace-time economy." He asserted that Americans are passively accepting a "right-wing analysis" of the country's problems. "Many of us are waiting for the pendulum to swing back as if such swings happened by magic," he said.

Saying that the "right-wing" analysis accepts nuclear war as a possibility, Dellums warned that "once you begin to think it is possible, you begin to make it inevitable." He is "convinced that the



Riverside Church conferees relax after session to discuss the potential impact of their meeting.

U.S. is preparing to be able to launch a first strike against the Soviet Union."

Coffin and Weiss are both veterans of many years in the anti-war movement. Coffin, the former activist chaplain of Yale University, was indicted along with Dr. Benjamin Spock and two others in May 1968 for conspiracy to encourage draft evasion. Weiss was a prominent spokeswoman and organizer throughout the Vietnam period. She was a key figure in maintaining contact between Ameri-

cans and representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam.

"In 1965 it was very hard to imagine that the movement would persuade Congress to stop funding the war. But it was right to do and we did it," she said last week. "In 1978 it is equally hard to imagine that plain people can put a stop to Pentagonomania. But it is right to do it, and we will."

Coffin is not optimistic about the ultimate success of a movement to stop the arms race. "Quite frankly, I don't think we are going to succeed," he said at the close of the conference, "but we have no God-given right to act as if failure were morally justified. The Lord didn't make us to kill ourselves off."

The conference attracted people from 35 states and a wide variety of backgrounds. A group of five teenage seminary students hitchhiked to New York from Cleveland; a former nuclear engineer from Illinois said he only recently "woke up." Among the other speakers was George Athanson, the Mayor of Hartford, Ct., who criticized the Carter administration for its continual approval of ever larger defense budgets and the recent nomination of retired Army General George M. Seignious to head the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Other speakers included Richard Barnett, author of *Global Reach* and *Roots of War*; Randy Forsberg, co-author of *The Price of Defense*; Earl C. Ravenal of the Institute for Policy Studies; and Yuri Kapralov, the First Secretary of the Soviet Embassy. Kapralov warmly praised the convocation's goals and clearly won the sympathy of the audience with his direct style. It was one of the first times a Soviet official has addressed a public forum in this country on disarmament.

Weiss said that the Riverside Disarmament Program would complement the on-going antinuclear and disarmament programs of other organizations such as SANE, the Mobilization for Survival, and the many antinuclear power groups. The Riverside program has a four-point approach, she said: "Demonstrating that there are alternatives to U.S. foreign policy; an economic analysis showing how the arms race robs us of social services; a social analysis showing the disadvantages of the arms race toward the quality of life; and a theological analysis."

"Today's technology," says Coffin, "determines not only tomorrow's tactics and strategies, but also tomorrow's politics." As for theology, "The love of loveless power is blasphemy," he says. "Consigning the poor to be modern-day lepers because of the arms race is equally blasphemous."

Background information and philosophy of the Riverside Disarmament program will be published in a series of pamphlets called "blue books," modeled on the Haldeman-Julius Blue Books published in Airard, Kan., in the '20s and '30s. The idea was suggested to Weiss by her philanthropist father, Samuel Rubin.

MARIJUANA

Four states o.k. pot for medical use

By Stephen Newman

WASHINGTON

SUPPORT FOR THE USE OF MARIJUANA as medicine is growing. Four states, New Mexico, Florida, Louisiana and Illinois, have already legalized the therapeutic use of the drug and therapeutic reclassification legislation is planned for about 37 states in 1979.

Under present laws, both the study of the therapeutic effects of the drug and the procurement of it by patients is extremely difficult, a panel of experts told the Seventh Annual NORML (National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws) Congress in Washington in late November.

Numerous examples abound. Bob Randall, a glaucoma sufferer, is typical. He was acquitted of a marijuana possession charge in 1976 when his attorney convinced the trial judge that Randall smoked marijuana to save his sight. Since that time, Randall has been trying to maintain

a legal source of marijuana.

Randall characterized government regulations controlling the therapeutic use of marijuana to the conference participants: "It's very difficult to get into detailed discussion of exactly how the government structure works because anybody who tries sounds like he's not all there, which perhaps suggests something about the government structure that you're trying to explain."

"The present regulations are Kafkaesque with a little Ionesco thrown in. We end up with something that's like Orwellian newspeak in which something that's not dangerous becomes highly dangerous and something with obvious medical value has no medical value."

After his acquittal, Randall began receiving legal marijuana from a research project at Howard University. After the termination of the project, Randall sued the federal government to locate a new

legitimate source. His lawyer, Thomas Collier, stated that the preparation of the suit, which eventually proved successful, consumed the time of 11 lawyers and paralegals.

Treating cancer effects.

Dr. Thomas Ungerleider is carrying out several studies at the UCLA Neuropsychiatric Institute on the effectiveness of marijuana as a treatment for the nausea that frequently accompanies cancer chemotherapy. Dr. Ungerleider spoke of a number of doctors who, without legal authority, are permitting their bone marrow cancer patients to smoke marijuana to treat their severe nausea.

"The doctors in these places are not about to say 'Here's what I'm doing, I dare you to arrest me.' But they are saying, 'I don't care what the regulations are, this is the only thing that is helping.'"

Though the issue of therapeutic use was the major issue of the conference, other issues surrounding the use of marijuana were also dealt with. Mayor Richard Hatcher, Gary, Ind., addressed a criminal defense seminar, and panels were held on the paracetamol problem, women and marijuana, several legal topics, and the therapeutic uses of psychoactive drugs other than marijuana. Cannon Walter Dennis, Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York, addressed the conference and discussed strategies for developing marijuana legalization support among churches and minorities.

In his annual report that closed the conference, Keith Stroup, founder and outgoing director of NORML, pointed to the high priority that the therapeutic use of the drug holds for the group: "We are going to make a lot of progress in the area of therapeutic marijuana. I think, without a doubt, that we will score 12, 15 or 20 victories next year. Who is going to be against providing marijuana to a cancer patient if they understand?"

Meanwhile, although undoubtedly a coincidence, on the first day of the conference the Food and Drug Administration announced its approval, for the first time, of the shipment of government marijuana to the state of New Mexico for the legitimate treatment of glaucoma.

Right: A doctor reports prescribing marijuana. Below: Cancer patient and NORML coordinator John Shenk.



Photos/Steve Newman

LABOR

Reform marks Teamster elections

By Alan Barnes

ONE RANK-AND-FILE REFORM slate won, the other lost, in two New York-area Teamster-local elections last weekend. In Local 584, "The Best Team," the nine-member insurgent slate headed by 48-year-old William Whelan, swept every position by at least a two-to-one margin, ousting the incumbent ticket headed by long-time president Joe Barone, ending what one member termed the local's "15 year history of favoritism, poor representation and undemocratic rule." Local 584 represents about 2,000 milk deliverers, utility men, and other drivers, largely employed in over 100 dairies and bottling plants throughout the metropolitan area.

In Local 282, which represents close to 5,000 New York City and Long Island construction material drivers, the insurgent group FORE (Fear of Reprisals Ends) failed in its second bid to unseat the notorious John Cody, president of what *Village Voice* called "the most corrupt union in New York." But FORE's leader, 37-year-old cement truck driver Ted Katsaros, received over 40 percent of the vote, 10 percent higher than in his last challenge to Cody, and the FORE campaign generated a great deal of public interest in the activities of 282 officials, including a three-part investigative series in *Village Voice*, a host of articles in the Long Island daily *Newsday*, and a 20-minute segment on CBS-TV's nationwide program, *60 Minutes*, all detailing Cody's role in turning Local 282 into, in the words of former PROD researcher Bob Windrem, "one of the crown jewels of organized crime in New York."

FORE's efforts also drew the attention of federal investigators to the local, leading Cody himself to admit that he may be indicted soon on kickback charges and pension fund violations.

In both elections, the reformers had to deal with their oppositions' use of the traditional campaign practices of entrenched or corrupt officials. As they visited plants, 584 insurgents were followed, forced to match their eloquence against the quiet persuasion of "two or three guys in a car, who just sit there and watch." In 282, the exceptional publicity seemed to have restrained the usual Gestapo tactics of administration supporters. (Katsaros was beaten up three years ago at a union meeting, the fate of others in 282 who have spoken out during or after elections), though FORE members still campaigned only in groups, heeding the warnings that they'd be "taken care of."

Telephone harassment, common to both groups, was given a new twist in 282 by the involvement of the U.S. Labor Party, whose members represented themselves to FORE activists as reporters from a number of newspapers, including *ITT*. The USLP has received financial contributions from the IBT to aid its antilabor activities.

In both locals, normal election procedures were altered in obvious attempts to cut voter response and insure greater control over the election.

In 584, the switch to mail ballots from the usual voting machines required that insurgents carefully explain the new method and repeatedly assure members of its secrecy.

Local 282's election was changed from mail to machine balloting, with only two polling places, barely accessible to most members. And, at each site, the roughly one-half of 282's membership that did manage to vote was greeted by an army of Cody's supporters, campaigning their way almost into the polling place itself.

Prior to the election, FORE members expressed concern about the integrity of the Honest Ballot Association, which con-

Normal election procedures were altered in the attempt to cut voter participation and control the outcome.

ducted both locals' balloting. Joe Conasen, *Village Voice* reporter, noted the HBA's lack of "an unblemished reputation in the labor election field," citing a 1973 Fireman's Union strike vote in which the HBA had "remained silent while the union president lied about the outcome." But FORE does not plan a challenge to the vote, although they cited a number of irregularities, such as the use of some mail ballots falsely identified as absentee ballots by 282 officials. Rather, the insurgents seem resigned to the power of the machine this time, its ability to set the terms of the election, to proffer "no show" positions in exchange for votes and to neutralize attacks upon it with the traditional "anti-labor" catchphrase. Said Ted Katsaros, "We've got to accept the vote of the membership. Cody made a lot of promises about jobs and conditions. We don't think he'll come through, but for now we'll just have to sit back and watch."

One of the things FORE will be watching for is Cody's reported pending indictment, which the *New York Post* revealed has been delayed only by the enormous number of charges to choose from. The unnamed *Post* source said the grand jury is being careful to pick "only the ones they're sure will stick."

Had the indictment come down before the election, the results may well have been different. Now, however, were Cody to



Phyllis Croft

FORE leader of Teamsters Local 282 Ted Katsaros

be convicted, one observer noted that "Fitzsimmons could place the local under trusteeship and eventually even disperse the members among a number of different locals," probably with the hope of dissolving FORE.

FORE has a long association with PROD. Katsaros sits on the Teamster-reform group's leadership board. The 584 insurgents, though they received information and advice from both PROD and Katsaros in this election, have no connection to either of the nationwide reform organizations, PROD or TDU. They are careful to identify the problems of their own local as their sole province.

Their most immediate concern is with the upcoming contract negotiations with

the milk companies, where they hope to regain the health benefits, equal pay scales, and cost of living increases which the former 584 officials so systematically gave away.

But, though they are cautious in aligning themselves with the cause of nationwide Teamster union reform, the rank-and-file orientation expressed in their approach to union leadership, along with their fierce determination, corresponds to the basic philosophy shared by PROD and TDU adherents across the country. Vic Siegal, newly-elected 584 business agent and a member near retirement, explained his candidacy, "I just couldn't leave with the union in the hands of anyone except the members."

Gallo Farm Workers win victory

By Larry Remer

DECLARING THAT THE NATION'S largest winemaker, E. and J. Gallo Vineyards, had created a police-state atmosphere in its fields to prevent the United Farm Workers (UFW) from winning a 1975 union representation election, a California administrative law judge has ruled that the election should be set aside and a new one scheduled.

In a 91-page decision, Judge David Nevins—a hearing officer for the state's Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB)—found that Gallo illegally supported the Teamsters over the UFW during the fight over who would represent 500 Gallo field hands in Modesto.

The ruling, which Gallo can appeal to the full five-member ALRB, is a significant victory for the UFW. Their dispute with Gallo had once been known throughout the world as the symbol of the fight by Cesar Chavez and the UFW to organize farm workers.

At the peak of that dispute, the UFW had called for a boycott of Gallo wines and Chavez dispatched organizers to major cities throughout the country to win support. In 1975, a Harris poll showed that more than 11 million wine drinkers switched brands in support of the boycott, which the UFW officially called off this past January.

The UFW's charges of unfair labor practices by Gallo have been on file with the ALRB since the 1975 election. Gallo has repeatedly tried to stall a hearing and a decision, insisting at one point that only attorney William Quinlan could rep-

resent the company in the proceedings. Quinlan was unable to take part in the case for more than a year because of heart surgery.

Nevertheless, when the case was finally decided, nearly every UFW contention

California judge accused Gallo owners of creating a police-state atmosphere.

was proved. Judge Nevins found that Gallo had harassed UFW organizers, used surveillance and security guards to intimidate workers who talked to UFW organizers, broke up major UFW meetings, and fired two farm workers who openly supported the UFW. He also said that Gallo gave free access to its property to Teamsters organizers and permitted Teamsters literature to be posted on company bulletin boards and equipment.

Nevins recommended that new elections be held if the UFW can show that 51 percent of the present Gallo workforce wants a union. If such is the case, he declared that the UFW should be allowed double the normal access to Gallo property than is normally permitted. He also ordered that the two workers who supported the UFW and were fired in 1975 be reinstated with back pay.

The UFW had first won a contract to represent Gallo workers in 1967. At that time, the family-owned company was seen as a model for modern employee-

labor relations in California's fields.

But by 1973, relations between Gallo and the UFW had deteriorated. When negotiations for a new contract opened, Gallo suddenly announced it had signed a contract with the Teamsters.

This capped the bitter UFW-Teamsters rivalry of the early '70s when Teamsters goons went into the fields to brutalize and terrorize Farm Workers organizers. Agribusiness welcomed the Teamsters, with whom it could negotiate "sweetheart" contracts and keep the popular UFW from gaining a foothold.

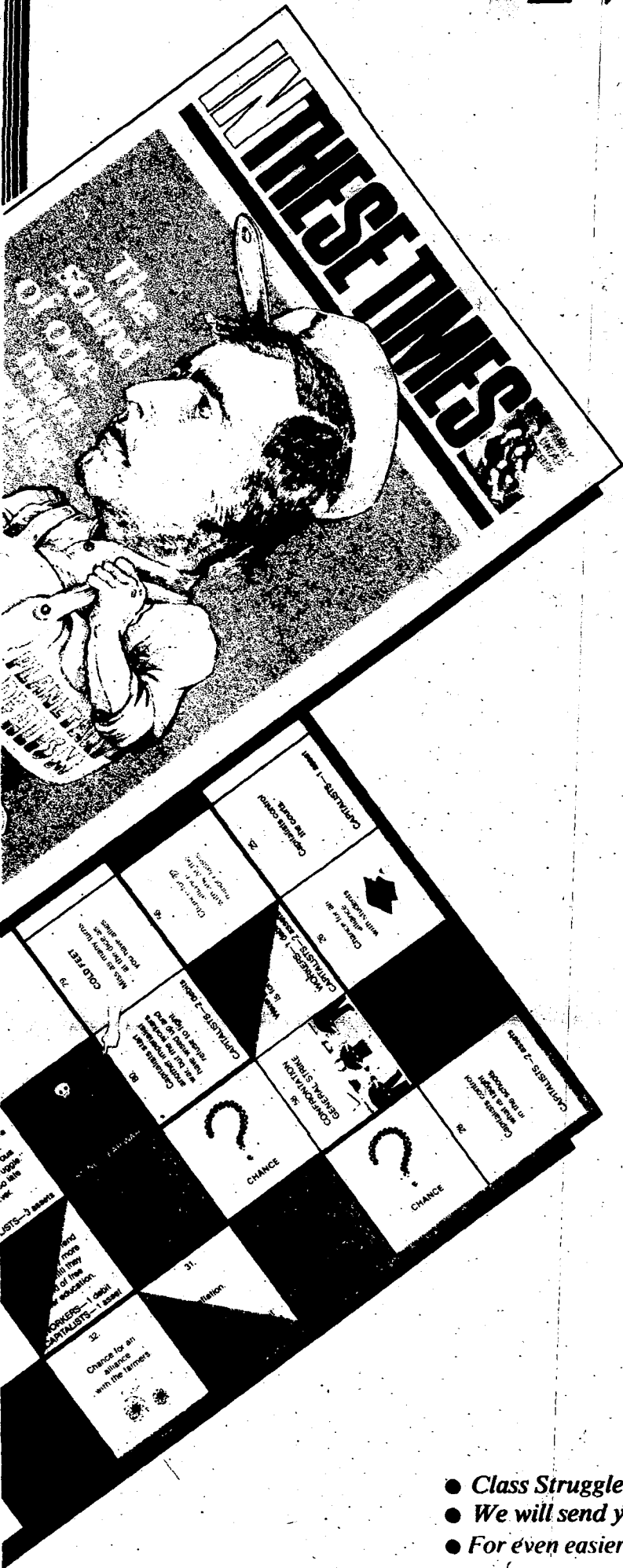
Indications are that the Teamsters were encouraged by the Nixon White House, which dangled the prospect of a presidential pardon for the then imprisoned former Teamsters president Jimmy Hoffa.

But the Teamsters were never able to win the hearts of the largely Chicano farm labor force and—under growing public pressure—negotiated a truce with the UFW in March 1977.

In the meantime, the boycott of Gallo had taken its toll. Gallo sales had dipped in several cities and the company didn't even protest the Teamster-UFW pact, allowing its contract with the Teamsters to run out in April 1977.

With their unfair labor practice charges pending, the UFW decided to wait before attempting a new organizing drive at Gallo. Now, the Nevins decision paves the way for the UFW to go after the Gallo workforce.

Apprised of the ruling, UFW president Cesar Chavez told reporters he was "pleased" and predicted the UFW will again represent Gallo workers after the new election.



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IN THE WORLD

IRAN

Shah's dreams of economic growth become nightmares

By Fred Halliday

THE NATIONWIDE AND PERSISTENT crisis that has overtaken Iran in the past few months has rocked that country's economy, once believed to be among the strongest in the Mideast. Economic problems have underlain much of the popular discontent that has exploded in the streets of Tehran and other cities and these problems have been further accentuated by the political crisis that has unfolded.

Only three years ago the Shah was confidently predicting that Iran would catch up with Europe in 15 years and that a new era of "Great Civilization" was about to dawn. Now worried Western exporters are expressing alarm about whether the country will be able to pay its bills, and at least one Western diplomat has been reported as saying, "If this crisis continues for another six months, Iran will be bankrupt."

The key to this turnaround, to both success and failure, is oil. Iran produces 9 percent of the world's total, and accounts for 18 percent of total OPEC production. Output this year has topped six million barrels a day, second only to Saudi Arabia in OPEC, and it provides a sizeable amount of the oil imported by major economies: 18 percent of both Japan and Germany's imported oil comes from Iran, as does 23 percent of Holland's, 17 percent of Britain's and 13 percent of the U.S.'s. Only 9 percent of France's does—which may explain why France has been more critical of the Shah in recent weeks than other Western countries.

Two smaller countries also rely on Iran for over 80 percent of their oil—South Africa and Israel.

Iran's economic development since the early '60s has been based on oil, but this was especially evident in the boom following the five-fold rise in oil prices in 1973. Export earnings rose from \$1.5 billion in 1970 to around \$20 billion in 1977, and the outlays for the 1973-78 Five Year Plan were doubled to \$70 billion in 1974.

In purely monetary terms, growth figures were very considerable. In 1973-74, the GNP rose 34 percent and in 1974-75 it rose 42 percent. Per capita income has also risen from around \$500 in the early '60s to an estimated \$2,500 in 1978. Industrial output has been growing at around 15 percent a year for the past decade, and massive shifts in Iran's social composition have occurred.

Nearly 50 percent of the 35 million people now live in towns—as compared to only 31 percent 20 years ago. A new prosperous middle class, based mainly in Tehran, has emerged, as has a new working class of over three million wage-earners in manufacturing and construction. Whatever else, Iran today is a very different country from that of the 1950s.

Yet it is in the pattern of this growth that the problems have been generated. First of all, oil itself has proved an unreliable source of revenue. As a result of shifts in the international market, Iranian oil revenues have not risen as anticipated. The result: GNP rose by only 2.8 percent in the year 1977-78. Moreover, much of the money allocated under the 1973-78 Plan has not been well spent. A report issued earlier this year states that less than half of the \$70 billion was actually spent. Much of it went to subsidize inefficient enterprises in industry and agriculture.

The expenditures generated predictable problems that arise when a lot of money is poured into an economy unprepared to



Demonstrators march in Tehran Dec. 11.

receive it.

Inflation was running at over 40 percent after 1973, and is now running at an official figure of 24 percent. House prices in Tehran have risen by up to 200 percent a year, and many people spend over 60 percent of incomes on rent. Similarly, as the infrastructure has broken down there have been prolonged power shortages that have undermined industrial output and enraged people at home who have become dependent on air-conditioners. Agricultural output is lagging far behind demand—supply is rising at 2-3 percent per annum while demand is rising at 15 percent, a reflection above all of rising incomes. Iran now imports \$2.5 billion worth of food per year—over 10 percent of its oil income. By the mid-1980s this may rise to \$4 billion. The government spends another \$1 billion on food subsidies.

Conspicuous consumption.

The chaotic growth has also generated many social problems and these, combined with the collapse of growth rates, explain why the urban population has exploded in anger. Corruption has been very widespread, and the 10 percent of the population who take 40 percent of the wealth have flouted their riches in houses, cars, and other conspicuous luxuries. For the poor, life in the cities has become increasingly difficult: an average inhabitant of Tehran now spends four hours of every working day in a traffic jam. Housing, health and educational facilities have been appalling.

The wealth has not "trickled down" to the mass of urban poor, and as the oil boom has ended, so, too, has the prospect of any material improvement. The emphasis that the mullahs place upon a return to "Islamic values" and on the fight against corruption can easily be explained in the context of an increasing gap between rich and poor. Although it is probably greatest in absolute terms on a town-country basis (at least five to one and still rising) the perceived gap has been much greater in the towns and it is here that the most significant political explosion has occurred.

One sector particularly hit by the change in Iran's economy has been the bazaar, historically the locus of trade and finance. The bazaar has not been wiped out by the rise of banking and retail systems outside its control. It still controls

30 percent of Iran's imports and 70 percent of Iran's wholesale trade. But the rise of other institutions and spasmodic but intense government campaigns against bazaar "profiteering" have turned this key sector against the government. Since they provide 80 percent of the income of the religious leaders, and finance the thousands of mosque officials and procession leaders who can mobilize the population, their influence has been crucial in the past months.

Future famine.

The effects of the recent upheavals have been to intensify this economic crisis. The strikes that have raged since the imposition of martial law in September have pushed up wage bills and forced the government to run an even larger deficit than it has already incurred. The wage rises conceded since September total around \$5 billion and will be added to an existing deficit of around \$5 billion.

The industrial stoppages and strikes in the oil fields have cut production. The oil strike lowered output from six to 1.5 million barrels a day in mid-November, and this meant that every day the Shah was losing around \$50 million in export revenue.

Already massive cuts in government programs have been announced. In the longer run, a cut in oil exports or in the pipelined gas export to the Soviet Union could cripple any Iranian government, however great the political unity of the Shah with the army.

The tragedy of the regime's economic policies is that, at best, Iran had 20 years of substantial oil revenues in which to transform its economy. Instead, oil has generated new problems and the economy has become more, not less, dependent on oil. By the mid-1990s there will be little revenue from oil, agriculture will be still unable to meet demand and industry will no longer be able to get subsidies on the present scale.

The spectre of mass unemployment, economic stagnation and even mass famine therefore confronts Iran, and the popular explosions of 1978 show that even now great numbers of the urban population are anxious and dissatisfied. It is indeed a sad and terrifying end to the Shah's dream of a "Great Civilization."

Fred Halliday is the author of *Arabia Without Sultans*. He is a fellow of the Transnational Institute, the international program of the Institute for Policy Studies.

Peaceful protest, bloody riot

Martial law military forces were withdrawn from Tehran last week, making way for two million protesters united in their demand for the Shah's overthrow. Iranian and American officials expressed relief that the demonstrations remained peaceful.

The regime is worried that a full scale confrontation between the military and mass protesters could result in large scale mutinies among Iran's 413,000-man armed forces. Some 260,000 of these are two-year conscripts, whose loyalties to the opposition may be stronger than their untested allegiance to the regime. More than 100 small-scale mutinies have already been reported during protests earlier this year.

Iranian authorities told Western reporters they were "pleased" with the outcome of the Tehran protests, and indicated that there were no plans to move up elections planned for next spring or to change the present government. Martial law was reimposed as soon as the protesters left the streets.

The question now is how long Iranians will be content to demonstrate peacefully while their demands continue to be ignored. Even as religious and "moderate" National Front leaders were directing the Tehran protests, bloody riots were taking place elsewhere around the

country. In the heavy industrial city of Isfahan, a center of U.S. arms manufacturers' assembly plants and training facilities, troops opened fire on demonstrators from helicopters hovering above the protests. Dozens of banks, offices, hotels and statues of the Shah and the Gruman Corp. offices were destroyed in the ensuing riots.

One day after the Isfahan riots, troops moved several hundred "villagers" into the city to stage a pro-government rally. Wire service reports said more than half the participants were uniformed troops and children under 12; they smashed store windows and cars that displayed pictures of anti-Shah leader Ayatollah Khomeini. Civilians on the street who refused to shout pro-government slogans were beaten with iron clubs and chains. At mid-week, the city's hospitals were said to be jammed with people suffering from bullet wounds and severe beatings.

As the demonstrations continue unabated, Iran's oil fields, refineries, government ministries, banks, schools and most private commerce and heavy industry remain on strike. With no end to the crisis in sight, the government began negotiations to import refined petroleum from its neighbors.

—Linda Heiden

MIDEAST

Camp David peace could calm stormy Lebanon—for now

David Mandel

BEIRUT

THE THOUSANDS OF SLOGANS painted on Beirut's remaining buildings were joined by some new ones in early November: against the Shah or Iran. The point is best captured in a saying: "When anyone in the Mideast sneezes Lebanon gets pneumonia."

Indeed, for the last three and a half years the region's battles have been fought out more in this small, outwardly very westernized, Mediterranean country than anywhere else in the Mideast. Every imaginable party and faction has its representatives in Lebanon. They are all heavily armed, and central authority hardly exists.

It is no wonder, then, that recent earth-shaking events—Camp David and the reactions against it—have had their effects on Lebanon. Conversations in Beirut with all sides to the conflict indicate that a real solution to Lebanon's problems is not in the offing, but a long truce and relative stability might now be.

Syrians against rightists.

The most recent fighting, which ended with an October cease-fire, was between Syrian troops and rightist Maronite Christian militias. Syria originally intervened in mid-1976 to stop fighting between the rightists and the Lebanese National Movement (LNM), a coalition of the left and various other groups representing the country's have-nots (including many Christians). The LNM was supported by the Palestinian resistance forces, a formidable army itself.

At that time, Syrian troops rescued the rightists from near-defeat, and actually clashed with the LNM-Palestinian fighters. The leftists say that Syria was afraid of a democratic and potentially revolutionary regime to its west. The Damascus government's fears of being dragged against its will into war with Israel and its ties to the Lebanese ruling class led it instead to favor a modified version of the old sectarian system, by which power was allocated to the country's various religious sects under a set formula.

While the Lebanese Muslim elite, and those of other sects, were willing to accept such a reform, the LNM insisted on non-sectarian democracy, and has tried to maintain a broad popular front in support of this demand. The Palestinians at first maintained neutrality, but were drawn into the fighting by continuous attacks from the right, which opposes the PLO's armed presence in the country.

Once it established its role as a "peace-keeping" Arab Deterrent Force, sanctioned by "invitation" of the Lebanese government and by an Arab summit conference (Cairo, 1976), Syria began to anger the rightist forces. It attempted to disarm them and stopped any further offensive on their part beyond the enclave they now control: a section of the coast north of Beirut and the mountains east of it, connected to the eastern half of the city. (In addition, an allied Maronite army occupies the region along the Israeli border, handed over to it when Israel officially withdrew its troops last summer.)

Only Israel helps.

The rightists apparently counted on the Western powers to come to their aid in the war, as happened in 1958, when they were rescued by the Marines. But only Israel, in its search for Middle Eastern allies, responded. Considerable quantities of arms were supplied, and there are accusations of even greater coordination.

Right-wing Christians have recently made peaceful gestures. And with Egypt out of the way, Israel and Syria may be too worried about each other to bother with Lebanon.

However, it was pointed out to me by "Rudi," press secretary for ex-president Camille Chamoun, one of the right's leaders, that if Israel really wanted to help the militias, the war would have been over long ago. There is an important truth here: Israel and the Maronite forces may have a common enemy—the Palestinians, and now Syria—but Israel wants the Palestinians resettled in Lebanon, and elsewhere, while the Lebanese right wants them out. And especially now, the prospects of a peace treaty with Egypt far outweigh in Israeli strategists' minds the benefits of an alliance with the East Beirut isolationists.

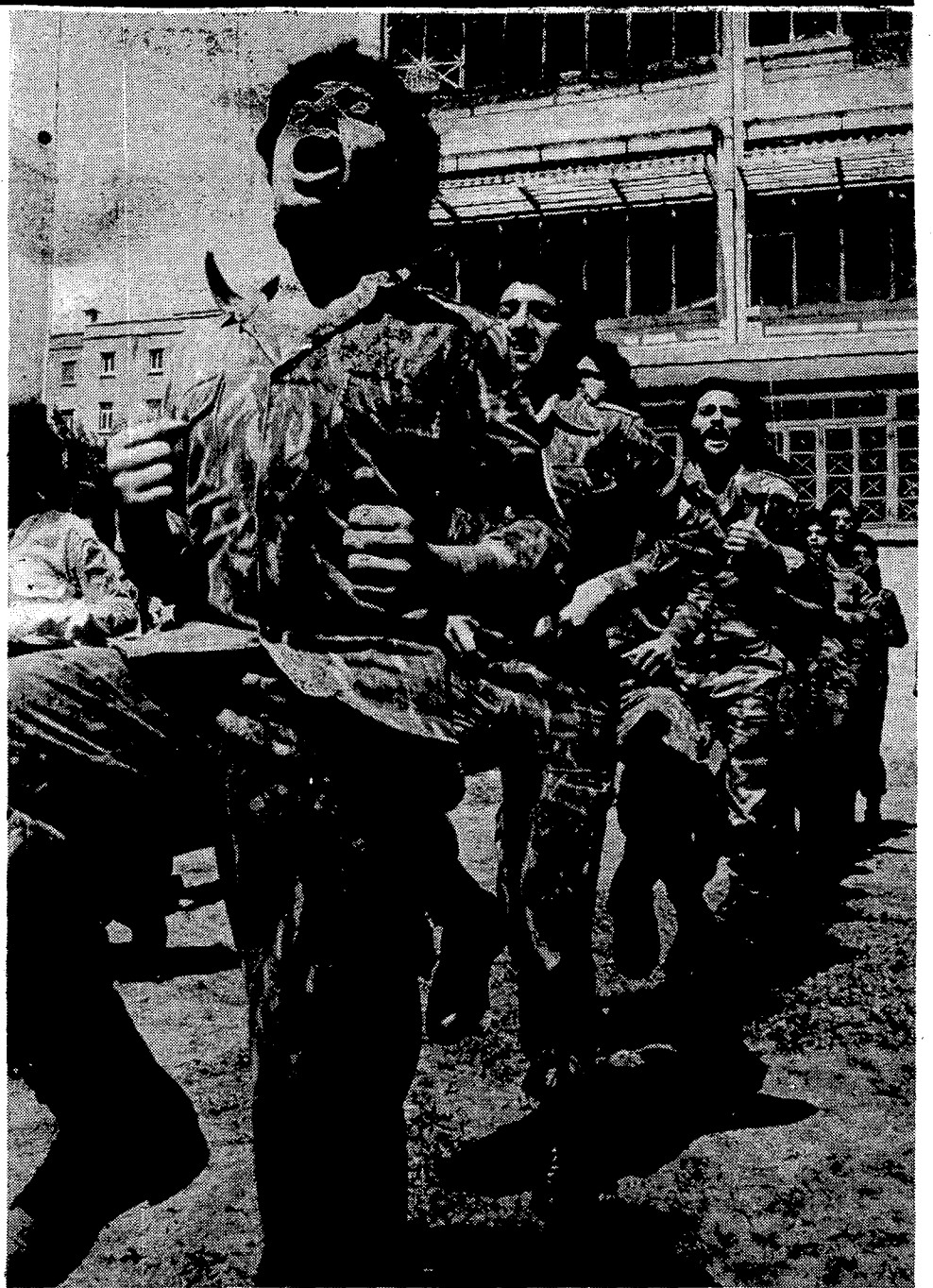
The Camp David accords may have contributed to the latest round of intense rightist-Syrian fighting, in which, according to Rudi, 50 rightist fighters and 1000 civilians were killed, 40,000 apartments and 200 businesses were destroyed, and 500,000 refugees were chased into the mountains. The Maronites, who were accused by most parties of provoking the fighting, were apparently testing Israel's current stance, hoping that it would intervene in force. Syria was perhaps more willing than usual to escalate its shelling, knowing that the Israelis were preoccupied elsewhere. Ironically, both sides, for different reasons, would probably not mind seeing the Egyptian-Israeli talks founder.

But assuming Egypt does sign a peace treaty, then both Syria and the Lebanese right might be more inclined than before to end their hostilities. When I spoke to Camille Chamoun, he repeated his hard-line demand that the Syrians withdraw immediately, but seemed rather nervous and annoyed when pressed about what he *really* expected to happen, and about the future of his alliance with Israel. And there is talk of differences between Chamoun's National Liberal party and the Gemayal clan, whose Phalangist movement is the largest component of the rightist alliance. Amin Gemayel, son of the Phalangist chief, Pierre, recently made some unusually peace-oriented statements to the Lebanese press.

Jumblatt visits Washington.

Post-Camp David Syria, under pressure to mobilize for possible confrontation with Israel, may also now be interested in getting out of the Lebanese swamp it has entered. Some of its troops facing the Christian strongholds are now being replaced by Saudi Arabians. The Saudis are close to Lebanon's conservative Muslims, have considerable leverage over the PLO and some over Syria, and were warmly praised by Rudi the Chamounist in our conversation. They are also closely in touch with American interests in the region, and could play an important role in sponsoring a settlement.

The National Movement forces were not involved in the latest round of fight-



Soldiers of the Lebanese National Movement train in Beirut.

Milt Taam

ing. Most of them are not in the Beirut area, and they are considerably weaker than at the height of the civil war two-three years ago. Palestinian troops are also concentrated in the south, and are also anxious to see an end to fighting in Lebanon. Tarik Shirhab, Vice-President of the LNM's leading party, the Progressive Socialists, told me that he believes the "beginning of the end" of Lebanon's civil war to be at hand. He commented that PSP leader Walid Jumblatt's recent stay in Washington was by government invitation, the first such official visit. Another sign, perhaps, of U.S. attempts at a solution.

A return to stability in Lebanon would require a strengthening central government and army able to disarm the partisan forces on all sides. Such a reality is far off, but the attempt is being publicly made. The army is under fire from both extremes—quite literally last week, when it clashed with some rightist soldiers. Chamoun and Gemayel officially condemned an attack Nov. 2 on Premier Selim el-Hoss, but some of their men were apparently involved in the action. The left meanwhile constantly accuses the fledgling government and its troops of bias in favor of the right.

American conspiracies.

American sources in Beirut, when asked how they envisioned a solution to the war, stressed first that support must be lent to attempts to rebuild the government under President Elias Sarkis, and then that all other parties must be urged to "act with restraint." No particular disapproval of the roles played by any faction was expressed.

The attitude was not mutual, however. All factions, with the exception of an official in the Lebanese Ministry of Information, had biting criticism for the American role. The Chamounists are publicly bitter that they have not received more support, and accuse Carter of condoning what they call Syrian expansionism at their expense, supposedly in order to entice Damascus to make peace with Israel. Palestinians and the Lebanese left see a U.S. conspiracy to destroy them, sometimes using Christians, sometimes Syrians and sometimes Israelis. Slight variations of these "American conspiracy" theories are heard from almost all parties.

Recent allegations by former American envoy Dean Brown that the Kissinger administration was more involved in the Lebanese civil war's early stages than was previously admitted tend to support at least some of the conspiracy theories. While the original combatants were highly motivated by interests of their own, many of them, especially on the right, had strong Washington connections. And it is hard to imagine that either Syria or Israel could have intervened to the extent they did without green lights from the U.S.

Democracy and anti-Semitism.

By now, most people on all sides in Lebanon are tired and sick of war and ready to accept almost any kind of settlement. The rightist forces have become somewhat more isolated than before, even in their own sector, as a result of recent fighting—the Armenian community, for instance, traditionally allied to the Maronites, suffered heavy casualties, and a feud began.

Neither Syria nor Israel has been able to fully realize its aims, and both may now be more concerned with preparing to face each other directly. The U.S. may now want to quiet things down in Lebanon, in order to give the Egyptian-Israeli peace a better chance.

A settlement is not at all certain, however. The whole region remains volatile, and any of the involved outside parties may decide it wants to keep others bogged down in Lebanon, as has occurred for the last several years. Both Israel and Syria still entertain notions of permanent domination, or even occupation, of sections of the country.

Internally, neither original side in Lebanon has won. A tremendous gap still remains between the left's call for a "united, Arab, democratic Lebanon" and the Maronites' defense of class interests through sectarianism, the threat of partition and racism (Rudi told me: "I'm an anti-Semite. I hate Arabs"). And unless the Palestinian problem is dealt with elsewhere—in Palestine, for instance—the PLO's armed presence in the country will remain a bone of contention.

Thus, any settlement of Lebanon's civil war is likely to be only a patching up of differences. It will last only as long as enough of the concerned parties want it to. The final battle for Lebanon still remains to be fought.

GREAT BRITAIN

Sanctions, strikes, scandal shake state

By Mervyn Jones

LONDON

THE GOVERNMENT'S PAY POLICY, with its rigid ceiling of 5 percent for wage rises within the year, has taken a heavy knock following the settlement in Ford's British plants. This settlement represents almost total victory for the unions at the end of their nine-week strike. The terms are complicated, but amount in effect to a 17 percent rise for the average worker. An assembly-line man who works the normal four hours' overtime will now have a pay-packet of 100 pounds (average industrial earnings are 70 pounds) (1 pound = \$1.90).

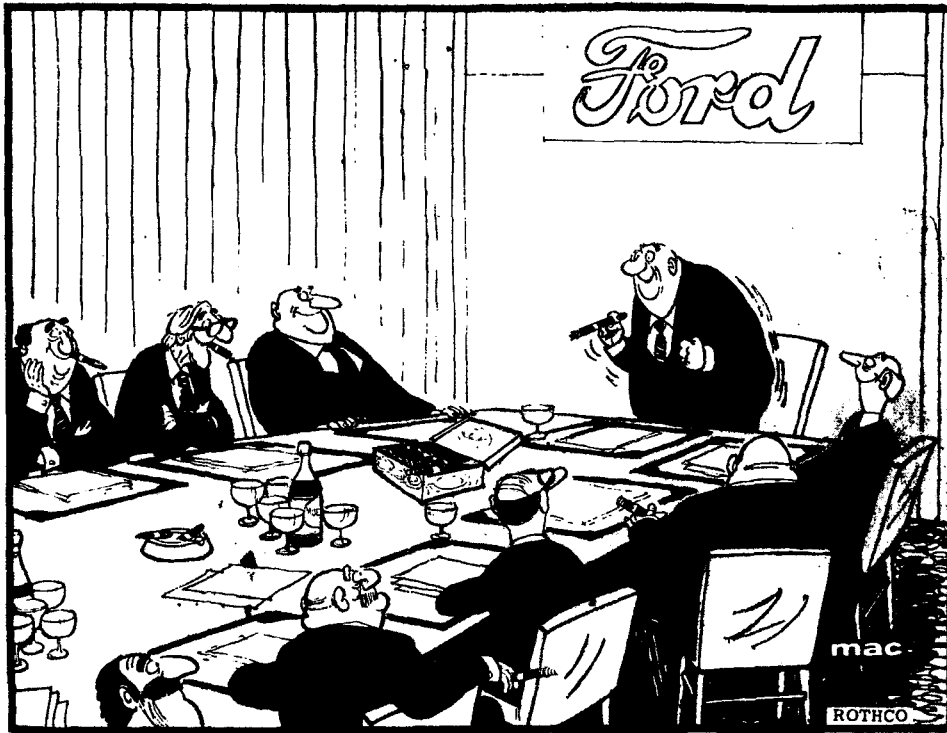
The Ford management invited the strike by saying flatly that it would concede only the officially approved 5 percent. It's probable that the company never intended this to be its last word; the intention was to be able at a later stage to tell the government that the company had honestly tried to keep to its ruling but had found this impossible—and that, of course, is what chairman Sir Terence Beckett is now saying. On the other hand, the company didn't intend to give 17 percent.

The crucial factor as the strike developed was international working-class action. Though Ford of Britain is by law a British company, the European operations of the multi-national giant are closely coordinated; a plant in Belgium, for instance, makes right-hand-drive cars for British roads. The company therefore planned to beat the strike by stepping up production in European countries. By luck, however, a continent-wide meeting of unions was being held just as the strike began, and the British unions secured pledges of support. Ford workers in European plants refused to work overtime, defeating the company's strategy.

Sanctions won't hurt.

The government has announced that it will "punish" Ford by applying what are known as sanctions, something it has done several times over the past three years when companies have made wage settlements in excess of official policy. The procedure is of dubious legality, since the ceiling has no legal force. Employers naturally find it outrageous—they get punished and the workers don't. However, in this case the company isn't likely to suffer at all seriously.

The sanctions consist, in the first place, of the withdrawal of certain forms of subsidy, such as a kind of reverse poll-tax that is given when an employer keeps men on the payroll who would normally be



"If we break the pay limit the government has threatened to impose the most stringent sanctions—like they did in Rhodesia. Isn't that great?"

Will Labour punish Ford? Will the *Times* come back? And will a dead dog kill the Liberals?

fired because of technical improvements. These subsidies are a very minor item in the Ford budget. Much more important is the development grant for the construction of a new Ford plant in Wales, agreed on last year with much fanfare after summit talks between Henry Ford himself and James Callaghan (himself, too). There is no talk of withdrawing this grant, for that would mean the breach of an agreement. The government, therefore, is punishing and subsidizing Ford at the same time.

Government departments, and nationalized bodies such as the railways, will cease to buy Ford cars and trucks. This won't cause the company many sleepless nights, for it's in a good sales position; it's well known that Fords are about the only cars made in this country that actually work. It's reckoned that the purchases concerned amount to three percent of total Ford sales. In any case, the sanctions operate only until the end of the current phase of the pay policy, which lasts until August 1979.

The whole sanctions business, indeed, is little more than a gesture. It was politically essential, however, for Callaghan

to show that he is determined to hold to his policy. As I've reported, other wage battles loom ahead. From Dec. 4, all regional newspapers are on strike, with journalists demanding wage rises of around 20 percent. This is not such a grave matter in Britain as it would be in the U.S. because most people read national papers, which are unaffected. But advertisers will suffer and there may be a knock-on effect on the economy.

Times locks out employees.

Meanwhile, to the consternation of people devoted to hallowed British traditions, *The Times* has suspended publication. This is in effect a lockout. The printers have refused to agree to management plans for the construction of computer technology, the sacrifice of many jobs, and a "continuous production" pledge that would rob unions of the weapon of lightning strikes. The management, most people in Fleet Street feel, has behaved with an extraordinary combination of arrogance and fumbling. An editorial on the penultimate day of publication declared bravely: "It is quite certain that *The Times* will return." But why the

printers should submit to the company terms in the course of the lockout, no one has explained. Nor is it certain that, if *The Times* does return, all the readers will return to it. There are other good newspapers in London, after all.

Right now, however, the foremost topic of conversation is neither the Ford settlement, the demise of *The Times*, the riots in Tehran, nor the deadlock over Namibia. Whether in a working-class pub or at a select dinner-table, nobody is talking about anything but the Jeremy Thorpe case. The trial of a leading politician for conspiracy to murder is, one can't deny, a fairly remarkable event. Even Nixon, visiting Britain this month, could be seen as a relative innocent, with nothing charged against him beyond the cover-up of a break-in.

Thorpe case may hurt Liberals.

The preliminary hearing of the Thorpe case in the magistrate's court, under British rules, has given us only the prosecution case. The defense has yet to be heard, and we're all virtuously reminding ourselves that a man is innocent until he's proved guilty. What's certain is that the full-scale trial, with Thorpe in the witness box, will monopolize attention even more solidly than the current hearing. And the date of the trial, still unscheduled, is a matter of some interest. What if it happens immediately before the general election?

Sexual scandals—and the Thorpe case is in effect a sexual scandal—have less political effect than one might imagine. The Profumo case of 1963, when a Tory minister was the center of a sensational sexual imbroglio, had little or no effect on the fortunes of the Tory Party, which did better than expected in the 1964 election. Still, one can scarcely believe that a guilty verdict in the Thorpe trial would do the Liberal party no harm at all—given that, outside a smallish hard core, Liberal voters are a volatile bunch anyway.

For practical reasons unrelated to the Thorpe scandal, the Liberals are already at a low ebb. In all 1978 by-elections, their showing at the polls has been disastrous. What the people who gave the party its peak six-million vote in 1974 are doing, preponderantly, is returning to an earlier Tory allegiance. This factor could be decisive in giving the Tories victory in the general election which must be held some time in 1979.

Is the government of this country going to change because, one night on a lonely moor, a hit man aimed a gun at a male model and shot a dog? Stranger things have happened, perhaps. No, I doubt if they have.

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DOLPHIN

BY
DAVID HELVARG

DOLPHINS, THOSE INNOCENT folk of the sea, may be the latest tools in the government's attempts to find surreptitious assassination methods. San Diego's Naval Ocean Systems Center at Point Loma and its predecessors, the Naval Underseas Center (NUC) and the Naval Underseas Warfare Center (NUWC), have been identified as being at the heart of a series of programs that used dolphins as spies, saboteurs, and assassins.

For 15 years the Navy has been both cooperating and competing with the Central Intelligence Agency in the development of military systems incorporating dolphins, whales and sea lions.

The dolphin experiments at San Diego's Point Loma Marine Sciences Lab involving physiology, hydrodynamics, and sonar are said to have been used as a public relations cover for more classified work being carried out under NUWC direction by the Navy on San Clemente Island and at the Kaneohe Bay Research Center in Hawaii.

These programs are reported to have led to the use of dolphins in a "Swimmer Nullification" program in Vietnam that resulted in the death of 30 to 60 divers including two Americans. A similar CIA program may have had, as its ultimate aim, the assassination of Cuban Prime Minister Fidel Castro.

The NUC in San Diego built a flotation craft to house its dolphins in Vietnam. It also built a CO₂ cartridge device which it calls an anti-shark weapon but which others have identified as the murder device used by the dolphins in Vietnam.

Public affairs officer for the Naval Ocean Systems Center, Joel Merriweather, denied that the Navy had an "operational" dolphin system in Vietnam, but admitted that dolphins had been installed there for "evaluation." He claimed that the object was only to identify and locate people, not to kill them. His statement was an advance from previous Navy claims that it had "no knowledge" of a dolphin system in Vietnam. When asked about reports that dolphins are being used in anti-submarine warfare activity Merriweather said, "No comment."

Michael Greenwood, a scientist who worked for Naval Intelligence as director of the Ocean Floor program of Sea Lab III, was the first person to go public with the story of the Navy's dolphin hit teams when he testified before Sen. Frank Church's Committee on Intelligence in

Seal of Jean II (top), count and "Dauphin" of Viennois in 13th century. U.S. Navy experimentation with dolphin sonar. By comparison man's sonar looks crude.



Photos/U.S. Navy

"Dolphins have no Pidgeon. "Human dolphins and not

DEATH PLOT?

1976. There, in 150 pages of detailed testimony, he exposed the Navy and CIA "Man in the Sea" program as a cover for dolphin and whale experiments designed to murder enemy frogmen, track Russian submarines, and spy inside Chinese and Cuban waters.

During one 15-month period beginning in 1971, Naval Intelligence placed six dolphins in Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam, to guard U.S. ships stationed there. These dolphins, part of the Navy's "Swimmer Nullification Program," were housed in an elaborate flotation craft built in San Diego. This craft combined stables and transport for the dolphins with floating pens, a guardhouse and a support team of trainers and researchers on board.

A dolphin based on the craft would scan the water with its sonar. If the water was clear of scuba divers the dolphin would hit a "normal response" paddle. If the dolphin sensed an intruder it would hit a paddle that opened its pen gate. It would then run its snout into a cone placed in a water-level weapons rack. The cone's tip contained a heavy-gauge, hollow-point needle attached to a CO₂ cartridge. The dolphin would then swim out to the diver, plunging the needle into him. The CO₂ would explode the diver's organs from within, floating the corpse to the surface for recovery and identification.

A May 1977 *Penthouse* article claimed the Navy's dolphins in Vietnam killed 32 divers, including two Americans who strayed into restricted waters. James Fitzgerald, the former chief of the CIA's Office of Dolphin Research recently told *Parade* that the Navy's dolphins "blew up" some 60 North Vietnamese divers. The later figure is confirmed by a researcher who recently retired from the Navy Underseas Center in San Diego, but would not permit the use of his name because he feared, he said, that this information would "give a black eye to the Navy."

In a recent interview Sea Lab's Michael Greenwood, now a professor in Minnesota, said that at the end of the Vietnam War the Navy moved their porpoise system to Subic Bay in the Philippines, to guard nuclear submarines. Media sources in Scotland claim that porpoises are being used to guard nuclear subs stationed at Loch Long. The Navy denies using dolphins for physical security at any of its sub bases. The Navy also denies charges that it has sold "open-ocean weapons systems" (dolphins) to Mexico or trained dolphins to carry satchel charges of explosives for use against enemy shipping.

The history of the use of the dolphin as a "biological weapons system" goes back to the early '60s. In 1963, the CIA and the Navy began joint work on dol-

phins at the Point Magu Naval Air Station in California. Other work was started at the China Lake Ordinance Test Station near Pasadena, on San Clemente Island, and at the Navy's secret Kaneohe Bay Research Center in Hawaii. In 1965, the Navy kicked the CIA out of the program, forcing it to relocate in the East. In 1970, the Navy's Point Magu dolphin program was moved to the desalinization plant in San Diego while more classified work continued on San Clemente and at Kaneohe Bay.

Santini's on Marathon Key in Florida was one of the early porpoise training centers in the U.S. Santini, the proprietor, who perfected a method for capturing Atlantic Bottlenose dolphins, captured the dolphin that played the movie role of Flipper. Beginning in 1965, Santini provided cover for the CIA after the Navy rejected them from its programs.

In 1966, the CIA set up new offices on the Navy base in Key West, Fla. That was also the year they were reported to be experimenting with using remote-controlled sharks for attack. They attached electrodes to the corneas of sharks' eyes and attempted to guide their movements with electrical shock impulses, but the sharks' nervous systems apparently proved to be too underdeveloped.

Before its program ended in 1969, the CIA was reported to have trained dolphins to attach magnetic satchels to the hulls of ships and to plant and remove instruments from the hull of a Russian nuclear-powered ship in Havana harbor. The animals were also used to help locate a downed nuclear warhead off the coast of Puerto Rico in 1966, a job now done by California sea lions at the Inshore Underwater Warfare Group at the Amphibious Navy Base in Coronado.

Several sources have suggested that one of the aims of the CIA dolphin program was the murder of well-known skin-diving enthusiast Fidel Castro. This idea becomes more credible when it is considered among other CIA plots to assassinate Castro. Testimony before the Church committee related how two CIA death plots involved impregnating Castro's wet suit with poison and planting a booby-trapped conch shell in an area where he dived in the hope that he would detonate it as he picked it up off the sea bed.

The Navy's "swimmer nullification" program is not so much more bizarre than many other programs in the larger pattern of "defense." The Pentagon alone spends \$15-20 billion a year on research and development, much of it on sole source contracting. Competitive bidding is abandoned within the "national security" rationale. The potential for corrup-

tion and bureaucratic intrigue goes almost entirely unchecked. The indictment of four former employees of the Naval Electronics Lab (a component of NOSC) and the former director of a local think tank in late November for stealing over \$500,000 out of a \$1.5 million contract is an example. "That's only the tip of the iceberg," insists a worker presently employed at the Ocean Systems Center.

"They spent over \$200 million on just that one stupid dolphin project," says Michael Greenwood. "The Navy will only admit to about \$20 million, but then they know they can get away with that. I think if there is any justice in the world the Naval Underseas Center will be shut down. They've done more to damn and undermine democracy than they will ever admit."

"Dolphins have no interest in politics," says Robert Pidgeon of the Greenpeace Foundation in San Diego. "Dolphins live in harmony with their environment. Humans would do well to imitate the dolphins and not train them to imitate us."

interest in politics," says Robert Pidgeon of the Greenpeace Foundation in San Diego. "Dolphins live in harmony with their environment. Humans would do well to imitate the dolphins and not train them to imitate us."

EDITORIAL

U.S. looks for bang from China boom

Since John Hay's Open Door Notes of 1899-1900, top American business and political leaders have seen China as the key to American, and world capitalist, prosperity.

China's development, so the thinking went, would provide so huge an outlet for surplus goods and capital as to ease competitive rivalries among the great capitalist powers for markets and investment spheres in Europe, the Mideast, Latin America, southeast Asia, and Africa. It would guarantee sustained growth and full employment at home for decades to come, thereby calming class conflict and obviating social revolution. China's development, in short, would make possible economic expansion without war among the capitalist powers.

In this sense, American corporate leaders could believe that the failure to "open" China was a basic, if indirect, cause of two world wars. And it was in this sense that former President Nixon viewed his mission to Peking in 1972 as representing the best hope for lasting world peace.

That hope has been rekindled by the current China trade and investment boom, now that the capitalist world once again suffers from an acute congestion propelling it toward renewed trade rivalries, monetary instability, rising unemployment and recession.

America's political and corporate leadership had always assumed that as the largest capitalist economy, the U.S. would play the leading role in China's development while leaving plenty of opportunities to the other capitalist nations. Great power rivalries and aggression, and Chinese civil war, kept China's door scarcely ajar from 1900 to the 1940s. At the end of World War II, with all its rivals economically depleted, the U.S. was poised at last to take the lead in China, only to see the door "closed" again by China's unification under the leadership of an anti-imperialist Communist Party.

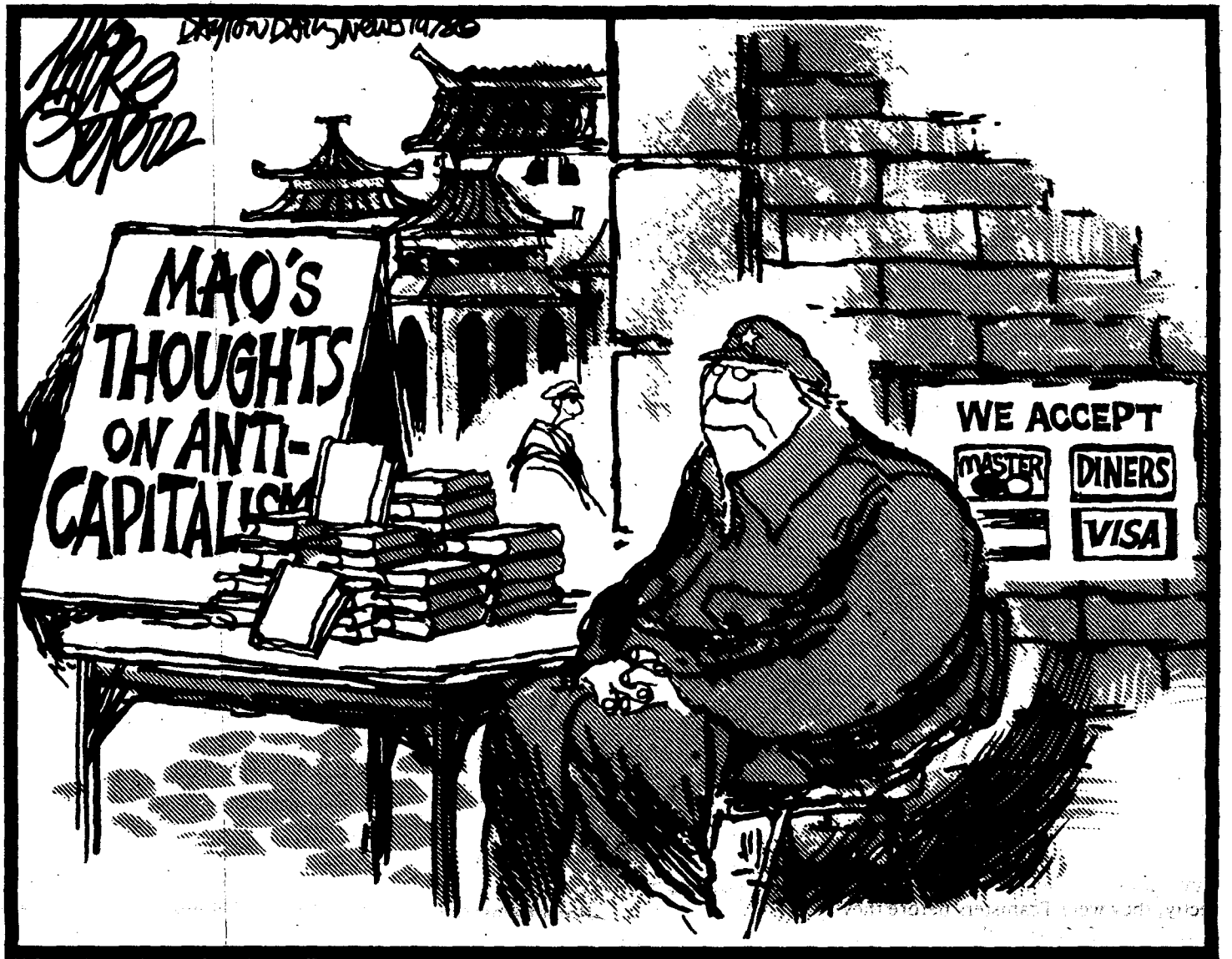
The ensuing two decades of American hysteria over "who lost China" expressed the deeper trauma over the threat of losing America's—and capitalism's—future without an "open door" in China.

As we now know from State Department documents released in recent years, Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai just after World War II invited the U.S. to aid China's reconstruction, to give China the technology it needed and leverage with the Soviets.

But in the cold war years, American capitalists could not conceive that a communist country might offer a suitable investment and trade environment for "free enterprise."

It was also inconceivable, especially with the onset of the Korean war, that the U.S. should help and thereby lend prestige to communist development and the "monolithic world communist conspiracy." Besides, the rebuilding of western Europe and Japan after the colossal devastation of the world war, gave the U.S. enough to do.

But by the late '60s, the Soviets and Chinese had split, and only imbeciles and Birchers could still believe in "monolithic" communism. The capitalist world for its part was moving into deepening economic troubles. Communist countries, with stable currencies, hard-working labor forces, and government guarantees, had proved to be good business partners. The China market beckoned with renewed urgency.



Late in coming, the China market is no myth. The myth lies in the unreal hopes placed on the "open door."

Nixon closed the gold window in 1971, and with the West and Japan awash in a huge dollar glut, the great anti-communist cold warrior learned how to dine with chop-sticks and went to Peking.

Internal Chinese and U.S. politics impeded China's "opening" for awhile. But remember that Nixon's initiative came while Mao was still alive and the "gang of four" still in power. The past few months have seen the China boom move into full gear.

The Chinese government has committed itself to what the business press labels an "astounding" \$350 billion development program within the next decade. The 120 major projects the Chinese are planning include ten steel plants, nine non-ferrous metals complexes, 30 power plants, five harbors, six trunk railways, eight coal complexes, and ten oil and gas fields.

The Chinese have entered a \$20 billion, eight-year trade agreement with the Japanese; a similar one for \$13.6 billion with the French; a \$14.5 billion steel and \$4 billion coal deal with the Germans. They have arranged for loans from British (\$1.2 billion), French (\$6.8 billion), and German (over \$4 billion) banks at lower than market interest rates, and are reported to be negotiating with Japanese banks for another multi-billion dollar loan.

American corporations and banks are handicapped by the lack of normal dip-

lomatic relations between the U.S. and Chinese governments. China's deals with the Europeans and Japanese, along with its conciliatory statements about Taiwan, may be just the lubricant needed to speed up the establishment of normal ties. But even without them, U.S. Steel, Bethlehem Steel, IBM, Boeing, Coastal States Gas, Hyatt and other American firms are negotiating or have already made agreements with the Chinese. American Cabinet secretaries, business executives, scientists and engineers have been going to China.

In its negotiations with the Europeans and Japanese, the Chinese, *Business Week* reports (Nov. 6), are "adamant on one point"—they want the loans and repayment in American dollars, if not in full, then in good part. If that proves to be the case, and the Chinese development program proceeds on schedule, it holds the promise of restoring the dollar as the stable international monetary unit it once was, while rejuvenating an American-led multilateral system of investment and trade.

It would appear that the Chinese strategy is to draw upon Western Europe, Japan and eventually the U.S. for accelerated industrial development, while helping to buttress American economic primacy in the West. Communist China appears to have become the new hope of the capitalist world—and especially of American capitalism.

China's industrial development will

undoubtedly raise demand for western and Japanese capital, goods, and labor. If the Chinese want such development it is all to the good that the industrial nations help them in a mutually beneficial and nonpredatory way. It is one of the admirable achievements of the Chinese revolution that it put China in the position to define and choose its own options and to get aid from the industrial nations on beneficial terms.

But China never was and never will be the "solution" to world capitalism's troubles. Iran's case suggests China's development cannot be so rapid, smooth and sustained as to "save" the capitalist world from recessions, inflation, and unemployment, or as to "save" the dollar. When its new productive capacity comes on stream world markets will become more crowded than before.

The China market is no myth. It is just late in coming. It is the extravagant hopes attached to it by Americans (and others) that comprises its mythical component. It is all the more fanciful to conjure a socialist China into the guarantor of a capitalist utopia of peace and prosperity. Those American socialists who have attached to China their own utopian hopes have only embraced a left-wing version of the prevalent China myth.

If China's development becomes an ideological surrogate for social change in the industrial capitalist countries, leaving intact those conditions that produce recessions, monetary instability, trade rivalries and national antagonisms, the China boom will lead not to world peace and prosperity but continuing economic disarray and international belligerency if not war. The danger would be as great for China as for the people of the industrial capitalist nations.

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LETTERS

LEE METCALF AND KAREN SILKWOOD

THE ARTICLE ON THE SILKWOOD CASE (*ITT*, Oct. 11) does a disservice to a man who cannot now correct the record, the late Sen. Lee Metcalf of Montana. The article states that the Metcalf subcommittee (of which I was staff director) cancelled its investigation of the Silkwood affair after Sen. Metcalf was visited by Dean McGee of Kerr-McGee.

The investigation was not cancelled. The Metcalf and Dingell subcommittee staffs jointly conducted an exhaustive investigation, which was the basis of the Dingell hearings.

—Vic Reinemer
Washington, D.C.

REFUTES DISPUTE

I READ WITH INTEREST THE ARTICLE by Alan Barnes on the pension fund controversy between the New York Brewery Workers and the New York Teamster Conference Pension and Retirement Fund (*ITT*, Nov. 29).

Criticism of the article must be made because it purports to demonstrate a dispute between the brewery workers and a Teamster Fund or Teamster Trustees, with the Teamsters the villains. Witness the headline "Teamsters Renege on Brewers' Pact."

The battle is strictly an internal matter within the Teamsters. The brewers are Teamsters as much as the members of the Teamster Conference Pension and Retirement Fund. The fact that 30 years ago the brewers were CIO is irrelevant; in fact, if memory serves me correctly, they were Teamsters before they were in the CIO as well as afterward, and merely rejoined the Teamsters.

The point is that the dispute could have been reported and sympathy expressed for the New York Brewery Workers without making the Teamsters the villains *per se*. The slant in the article is unfair, misleading and inaccurate.

—Richard A. Weinmann
New York

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

IN THESE TIMES READERS MAY BE INTERESTED in knowing that Frank Fletcher, who was the Socialist Labor Party candidate for Congress in the recent election from the 25th Congressional District here in New York, received unofficially, a total of 631 votes in that district.

He got 253 in Dutchess County, 91 in Putnam County, 135 in Westchester County, and 152 here in Ulster County. Perhaps the number may be even more when the official tally comes out.

At any rate, as a result of the campaign, we did make new friends, some of whom had never heard of the Socialist Labor Party before, and it gave voters who wished to do so the opportunity to vote for the socialist alternative as represented by the SLP.

As we do not have a large membership and lacked sufficient funds, plus the fact that it was the first time ever that the Socialist Labor Party ran a congressional candidate in that district, the SLP nominee did not do bad at all!

Although I don't know how many votes they received, SLP candidates were on the ballot in New Jersey and Ohio. In California, a write-in campaign was conducted by the party.

—Nathan Pressman
Organizer, Hudson Valley SLP
Ellenville, N.Y.

JUST WAIT

OVER THE YEARS MY AWESOME grasp of the dialectic has enabled me to penetrate to the inner reality of phenomena both outside and inside the socialist movement. But several policies of *ITT* have made me wonder if my legendary mastery is deserting me. Specifically, I would like to hear from both the staff and the readers on the value of the extensive coverage given rock music and sports and on the nature of that coverage.

If religion was the opium of the people in the 19th century, one can only note that, metaphorically speaking, the pharmacopeia of mind-bending drugs has expanded and now includes not only rock music and sports but many other varied subverters of rational thought and emotional depth.

Unless some nuance of the ontology of rock and sports escapes me, I am at a loss to understand why any socialist publication should lend itself to this aspect of the deepening corruption of our times.

But let me be fair: at least *ITT* doesn't cover horse racing, demolition derbies, or bullfighting.

—Chalmers K. Stewart
Oyster Bay, N.Y.

MILITARY SPENDING

I LIKE YOU, BUT I FIND THAT YOU ARE not really tuned in to what I consider to be a very important issue—that of military spending and its effect on the economy. Several of your articles on inflation failed even a passing mention of the inflationary aspects of military spending.

Perhaps you need a subscription to mailings of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20002. Even the *Wall Street Journal* (Aug. 30) states that "outlays for defense happen to be a particularly inflation-producing type of federal spending."

—Alice Angeloff
Seattle

CLAMSHELL & LABOR

DUNCAN HARP'S ARTICLE ON SEABROOK protests (*ITT*, Nov. 29) does not do justice to the ongoing efforts of the Clamshell Labor Committee to build coalitions with labor groups. In the brief telephone conversation I had with him I did not mention the names of specific unions that Clamshell "had allied with," but not because I "could not name them." The quote from me that "We are just getting started," out of context, is quite misleading.

Members of the AFSCME, UE and the United Steel Workers belong to the Labor Committee. Bridgeport Clam members belonging to the Steel Workers local proposed an anti-nuclear resolution that won 40 percent of the votes at the Connecticut State Labor Convention. The Labor Committee is building toward the introduction of similar resolutions in other New England states. It is also preparing several leaflets and pamphlets on nuclear power and jobs, public ownership of utilities, and occupational health and safety. It is also planning a program of internal education within the Clam.

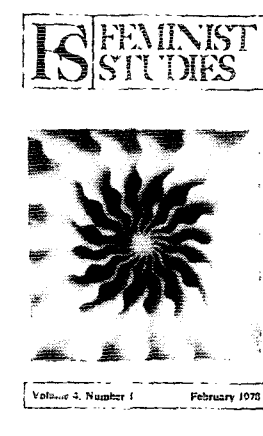
Our interest in building a coalition with trade unions is not based on "we can help you and you can help us," but on the conviction that we share a common enemy and that the fight against nuclear power is part of a larger struggle for a safe workplace. In our efforts to overcome one barrier that has traditionally splintered the left, we need—and from *ITT* we expect—support, encouragement, and more careful reporting.

—Nancy Foible
Amherst, Mass.

CORRECTION

In Eric Foner's review of Jay R. Mandle's *The Roots of Black Poverty* (*ITT*, Dec. 6), the publisher was incorrectly given. Duke University Press is the publisher. We regret the error.

FS FEMINIST STUDIES



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Kristin Booth Glen, Abortion in the Courts: A Laywoman's Guide to the Disaster Area. Judith Lowder Newton, Pride and Prejudice: Power, Fantasy, and Subversion in Jane Austen. Wini Breines, Margaret Cerulla, and Judith Stacey, Social Biology, Family Studies, and Anti-Feminist Backlash. Jane Marcus, Art and Anger. Berenice Carroll, "To Crush Him in Our Own Country": The Political Thought of Virginia Woolf, Nancy Chodorow, Mothering, Object-Relations, and the Female Oedipal Configuration. Annis Pratt, Aunt Jennifer's Tigers: Notes Towards a Preliminary History of Women's Archetypes. Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Lost Women" in Early Modern Seville: The Politics of Prostitution. POETRY by Frances Jaffer, Alexandre Grilikhes. ART by Judy Chicago.

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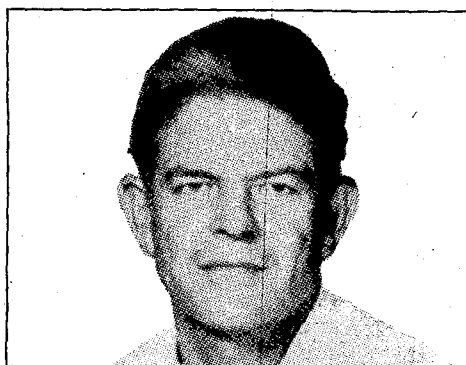
STAUGHTON LYND

LABOR AND THE LAW

Dear Santa: An Xmas list for jobs for all and justice in the workplace

DEAR SANTA: I KNOW YOU have a lot on your mind but here are a few stocking presents that would mean a lot to the people involved. ¶**For H.D.:** She and her husband drove trucks for the same company. Her husband was notified when many miles from home that he was fired. She picked him up and was fired for carrying an "unauthorized passenger." Both grieved their discharges. He was reinstated and she was not. Please, Santa, a little justice.

¶**For T.V. and E.L.:** Both men were laid off when the mill shut down last year. They applied for unemployment compensation, and began to receive both comp and Supplemental Unemployment Benefits. Then the company called them back to the labor pool. Because of physical disabilities, neither could perform the work. The company refused to reinstate them to layoff status, however. They grieved the refusal and the staff representative settled the grievances in their favor. But the settlement did not compensate the men for all the money they had lost in doctors' fees,



etc. Santa, I know that under *Vaca v. Sipes* the union has a right to drop or settle a grievance. But shouldn't the staff man at least discuss the proposed settlement with the grievant? I think that is part of his "fiduciary duty" under Section 501 of the Landrum-Griffin Act. Please say you agree.

¶**For B.K.** The company for which he drives promulgated a new rule according to which any driver whose truck's "governor" has been tampered with has been fired. (The reason for fooling with a governor is that it makes it possible for the truck to go faster.) Santa, this rule looks to me like condemning a man on circum-

stantial evidence, and then making him prove his innocence. In B.K.'s case, the mechanic who worked on his truck found (1) a worn thrust bearing which accounted for all the problems he experienced, (2) a screw in the governor which was not long enough to affect how it worked. I guess I am asking you for a pretty radical idea, Santa: a person should be innocent until proven guilty.

¶**For M.S.:** This man was injured four times on the job. Because of the injuries, he was not able to keep up at his old job and frequently had to take time off. But at least in the case of an employee injured on the job, should not an employer be required to make an effort to find lighter work for the man or woman? Require it, Santa. This man was fired for excessive absenteeism.

¶**For R.L. and G.W.:** The contract at their plant gives workers the right to refuse overtime work. The local union leadership agreed with management to make overtime mandatory for a six-month period. The agreement had to be submitted to the membership for approval. In advance of the vote, partisans of both positions distributed literature in the plant. R.L. and G.W. were fired for distributing anti-overtime literature. A break had ended five minutes before the time of their discharge so technically they were soliciting "in working areas during working time." But pro-overtime solicitors were permitted to do the same thing without discipline. Santa, please make what's sauce for the goose also be sauce for the gander.

¶**A.R.** is 55 years old and has a high-school education. Because of eye surgery he has double vision and cannot operate a crane in the mill any more. He has applied for Social Security disability insurance benefits. The Bureau of Vocational Rehabilitation says that with his impairment, and at his age, they don't see how they can retrain him. The Ohio Bureau of Employment Services states that they cannot refer him to a job while he is under doctor's care. He has visited more than 15 employers who refuse to take the

risk of employing him. Yet Social Security has held that he is not disabled because in theory he could do jobs like pumping gasoline. Santa, forget mercy: as a matter of fairness shouldn't the government be obliged to prove that a job is actually available for this man?

¶**J.F.** in Maryland, and **F.M.** in California belong to unions that forbid Communist Party members from being members or holding office. Santa, as you know, "mere membership" in the Communist Party is no longer illegal. Why, then, should unions certified as exclusive bargaining agents by the federal government be permitted to penalize mere members of the Party? Give these men first-class union citizenship for Christmas.

Also, Santa, **W.T.** and **S.B.** would like to know why a person does not have the right to be present at any proceeding where his or her grievance is discussed.

¶**G.D.** is a special case, Santa. He was the first person to propose employee/community ownership of the steel mill in Youngstown shut down by the Lykes conglomerate in September 1977. It's been 15 months of struggle, disappointment, new struggle, partial success, more struggle. How about letting us win one, Brother Santa?

¶**J.W.** is still waiting to hear from the National Labor Relations Board in Washington. You remember his case: a fellow worker was discharged and called for his steward, J.W.; when J.W. came on the scene the superintendent told him to go back to work; J.W. said he wouldn't go until the grievance was settled; and was fired. Santa, you and I both believe that an injury to one is an injury to all. J.W. put it on the line for that idea.

Yes, I know this list is getting long. Tell you what, Santa, you can take care of everyone else I have in mind with just one present: a job for every one who wants to work.

Staughton Lynd, a longtime civil rights and anti-war activist, practices law in Youngstown, Ohio. Readers interested in corresponding with Lynd can write him at 1694 Timbers Ct., Niles, OH 44446.

ROBERTA LYNCH

Lesson of Guyana horror: Real salvation rests in no hands but our own

FLAV-R-ADE LACED WITH cyanide—surely the American way of suicide—even if it did take place deep in the jungles of Guyana. The horror and the sheer madness of Jonestown are leading many to dismiss it as simply the most bizarre results of an increasing-

ly common phenomenon—the messianic cult. ¶**Charles Manson and his Family, the Rev. Sun Moon and his Unification Church, Chuck Dederich and Synanon, Werner Erhard and est, David Berg and the Children of God, Guru Maharaji and the Divine Lighters, Steve Gaskin and the Farm, Lyndon Larouche and the U.S. Labor Party.** I could go on; there are scores of smaller but no less devoted bands.

Many people won't like this list. They will point out that this person or that one is actually benign, or non-violent, or right-on. They will argue that this cult or that one is quite harmless—or even quite helpful. They will note the radical philosophy of this or that group.

They will go on in this vein, distinguishing their current favorite from the rest of the pack. And they will not hear in their voices the echoes of those who once defended the others—the Jim Joneses who have now moved beyond the pale.

For it is possible to find, in almost all of these cases, some good that was done.



People who were saved from drugs, from alcohol, from the streets. People who claim to be much happier than they have ever been before in their lives.

Wouldn't it be more fair then to analyze each of these groupings individually rather than simply lumping them all together?

I don't think so. Because the real issue is not so much what differentiates these groups as what binds them: the all-powerful, all-knowing male leader. The man who's calling the shots.

Anyone who went to a Catholic school will remember all those "all's" before the adjectives that described God. He was a pretty big deal. Today—whatever good these men might do—that's what it's really all about—wanting a piece of the power, wanting a place on the throne, wanting control over people's lives.

It is a direct, emotional and intoxicat-

ing role—both different from and more accessible than the standard avenues to authority in America. A congressman may represent 100,000 people as compared to Jones' 1,000 or so, but could he get any 900 of them to so simply lay down and die for him?

It does not really matter whether these men are good or bad, whether ostensibly of the left or right. What matters is that they rule by personal charisma rather than through any democratic process. They stand outside the traditions of free and informed election of leadership.

More basically, what matters is that their followers do not live by any coherent structure or philosophy, but by their leaders' whims. Individuals are not taught to think, but to believe. Loyalty to the leader surpasses loyalty to principle, to self, to community. What matters is that in the end nothing much matters except this man.

But there have always been people who wanted to dominate—whether benignly or despotically. The more perplexing question is in regard to the dominated. Why have so many Americans taken to looking for someone they can follow blindly and 'quote mindlessly? What makes people want to hand over responsibility for their lives to someone else?

Some commentators have sought to blame the Jonestown tragedy on the '60s with its freaks and flower children. In fact, the search for messiahs is much more a product of the demise of that decade's idealism, of the recognition of the obstinacy of America's vices, of the social breakdown brought on by the lack of new values to replace the discredited old ones.

Not everyone goes to such lengths, of course, as the cult-joiners. But there are less dramatic related developments in all parts of society. What does it mean, for instance, when evangelical religions—nearly all of them featuring a central dynamic personality—grow at a faster rate than the established churches with their relatively anonymous leadership?

While we remain a nation with a strong anti-authoritarian current, there are other factors that contradict this aspect. Blind adoration of leaders may seem a peculiar-

ly un-American trait, but the absence of critical thinking is right up there with apple pie when it comes to true Americana. This habit of non-thought, so corrosive of any democratic impulse, is the lifeblood of the messianic cult. And it feeds other social trends as well.

Contemporary capitalism seeks compatibility with democratic structures. But its needs for economic dominance and social mythology constantly thwarts the democratic process. It has erected a communications nexus that limits information and experiences, an educational system that stifles curiosity and creativity, and a national ethos that downgrades individuality even as it touts individual success. The result has been a conscientious, if not conscious, program of social control.

Now that the existing structures are beginning to crack, the inadequacy of this foundation has given people few means to fully understand or grasp their reality. The '70s have been marked more by ideological confusion than by any clear social or political theme.

The still-tentative discussion of Marxism that is emerging in some quarters is important not because it will necessarily provide answers, but because it can provide tools that can—if widely disseminated—begin to chip away at the obscurantism and help people to think for themselves (in both senses of the term).

For we will continue to look for simple solutions—or saviors—until we learn how to make sense of our own experiences and the context of our lives. It is only then that we can fully realize that real "salvation" is a human possibility resting in no one's hands but our own.

Roberta Lynch is a national officer of the New American Movement, a democratic socialist organization.

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PEGGY DENNIS

Anti-Semitism, still strong and officially sanctioned, blights Soviet society

THE JEWISH DAILY FREIHEIT (Oct. 29) reports that general secretary of the American Communist Party Gus Hall said in a radio interview Oct. 16 that although there are remnants of anti-Semitism "here and there in the backward villages, fundamentally, anti-Semitism has been wiped out" in the Soviet Union. "This is a preposterous claim. Anti-Semitism exists in Soviet cities and is propagated by official Soviet institutions. From 1964 through 1978, anti-Semitic books, pamphlets and articles have been printed and circulated within the Soviet Union, including Moscow, legitimizing such expressions in Soviet everyday life.

All Soviet media are government and Party owned or controlled. All publishing schedules of every Soviet institution are planned by committee action. A government *glavlit* (censor) at each institution initials the contents of every publication. It is impossible for recurring anti-semitic writings to appear accidentally, at the whim of some individual racist. And should anyone be facetious enough to suggest that the publication and circulation of these writings proves the exercise of freedom of opinion in the Soviet Union, it should be noted that this freedom, strangely, is allowed only in the advocacy of anti-Semitism.

These books and articles resurrect every time-worn slander against the Jewish people. They use as interchangeable synonyms the words and concepts of *Zionism*, *Judaism*, *Jews*. They rewrite history and reality to serve a pragmatic foreign policy (which may well change when circumstances change, while these writings already have done their harm).

These writings use the term *Zionism* as a sweeping code word to cloak their anti-Semitic views. They also display a startling ignorance regarding the historical origins of Zionism as a national liberation movement. They deny the contradictions and differences that exist within the Zionist movement today in Israel and abroad. This denial is contrary to the policy and tactics of the Communist Party in Israel, which seeks to establish unity of action with Zionists critical of the reactionary Begin administration.

On various occasions during 1964-78 the Communist parties of Italy, Britain, Australia and France have publicly protested Soviet anti-Semitic writings. Even the American Communist party's *Daily World* was mildly critical in 1964 and again in 1975.

Below is a partial list, with brief summaries, of some official anti-Semitic writings that appeared in the past two years in the Soviet Union. They are from the files of the *Jewish Morning Freiheit*, which since 1956 has reported and protested the worst examples of Soviet anti-Semitism. (Although *Freiheit*'s 86-year-old editor Paul Novick was expelled a few years ago from the American Communist Party for this effort, the paper maintains a socialist and generally pro-Soviet stance, rejecting the idea that criticism is "anti-Soviet.")

**The Sword of David* by Lev Korn (1973), a pamphlet of the official Soviet *Novosti* News Agency. (Zionism is a financial, economic, ideological system of world neo-colonial imperialism seeking control of the international military-industrial complex).

**Nazism, Zionism, Maoism: National Policy* (1976) by Eyodor Breus, a *Novosti*



article reprinted in the *Daily World* Sept. 16. (The term *Judaism* is used throughout more than the term *Zionism*. *Judaism* and *Maoism* are declared to be synonymous with *Nazism* and all three have "identical values").

•A two-part article in *Pravda*'s weekly magazine *Ogonyok* (1978) by L.A. Korneyev, member of the Academy of Sciences' Institute for Study of Asian and African Countries. (There is an "international Jewish mafia stranglehold on the world's multi-billions [dollars] weapons trade").

•Series of articles in *Nedelya*, the Sunday supplement of *Izvestia* (1978), titled *Terrorism: A Weapon of Zionism*. (Not a specific Israeli government action, but Zionism is the culprit; no reference to terrorism as a weapon of the Palestinians, as well as in Latin America, Africa and West Europe).

•*International Zionism: History and Policy* (1977), a Soviet book favorably mentioned in TASS, official Soviet News Agency. (Rich Jews are the main enemy; they control all western industry, banking, news media, especially in the U.S. No mention is made of capitalism as the chief enemy, that a varied ethnic compositions exists in all social classes, that the vast majority of Jews in the world are not among the ruling rich).

Other examples abound. *Judaism Without Embellishment* by Trofim Kechko, a vicious Soviet book published in 1964 resurrects for present day use every anti-Semitic canard peddled since ancient times; the book contains shocking, Hitler-like caricatures of Jews. These recurrent books and articles have helped create an atmosphere in which racism has become emboldened to express itself in everyday Soviet life.

In 1972 I lived in Moscow for three months, spending time with old friends I had known in the early 1930s when I had worked for the Comintern. These *non-dissident* Jewish friends described to me the "little" anti-Semitic incidents and insults they constantly encountered on the street, on the bus, on the shopping queues.

Even more disturbing during that three month stay were the crude anti-Semitic remarks made in social and personal conversations by bright, young, Soviet educated members of the political and ideological institutes of the Soviet government. In the streets of Moscow in the 1930s such expressions were rebuked by bystanders who apologized to me, explaining they came from the *nyculturnya* (uncultured) peasants in town to sell their wares, a remnant of pre-socialist times. In 1972 I heard no rebukes. The anti-Semitic expressions were made in the cultured homes of the "New Soviet Man," 61 years after the revolution.

In 1917 Lenin and the new socialist state defined the "Jewish Question" as that of an oppressed national minority. In 1961 Soviet leaders in Moscow, Odessa and Kishinev would discuss the "Jewish Question" with me solely as a religious

issue. They pointed proudly to the availability of matzos and synagogues as proof that there no longer is a "Jewish Question." It is unfortunate that even in the American socialist movement too many erroneously accept this definition.

Too many erroneously embrace the view of the Israeli, Soviet and U.S. governments that the chief issue today is the flight of Jews from the USSR. But emigration is a by-product of anti-Semitism within the Soviet Union.

The official stance that it does not exist makes impossible ("unnecessary") any activities to eradicate it. Despite anti-Semitism in everyday life and recurrent publication of anti-Semitic books and articles, Soviet Jews say that if they complained they would be liable to prosecution under the "slander" law since officially anti-Semitism does not exist.

Designated as a religious sect, Soviet Jews, most of whom are not religious, are denied their national minority right to practise and preserve their Yiddish culture. They are denied adequate facilities to maintain their language, schools and publications.

Soviet Yiddish culture flourished from 1917 to the mid-1930s. Even with the establishment of the Jewish Autonomous Region of Birobidjan in 1934, there were Yiddish publishing houses, newspapers, magazines, theaters, schools and history institutes in the major cities of the Soviet Union. These were eliminated in the Stalin purge years. They were partially re-established in the 1940s when it became expedient to do so during the anti-fascist war.

Since 1948 they no longer exist. Birobidjan is no longer a Jewish Region. Jews there constitute less than 6 percent of the total population and no Yiddish institutions exist there. In any case, Birobidjan was never embraced by Soviet Jews, most of whom did not seek a geographical

homeland. They have always preferred the preservation of their Yiddish culture and heritage wherever they were living, primarily in the Soviet cities.

Khrushchev's exposure of Stalin's crimes in 1956 gave rise to a new appraisal of the special persecution of the Jews under Stalin. Since then, the monthly Yiddish newspaper *Sovetische Heimland* was established and 50 books in the Yiddish language were published. By comparison during that same period, 530 books and newspapers were published in the Yakut language, 255 books in the Buryat language.

To the official claim that, unlike other national minorities, Jews prefer assimilation, Soviet Jews note they have little choice when their national heritage and culture is denied them and both open and subtle anti-Semitism stalks their lives. *Sovetische Heimland* recently admitted a growing interest by young generations of Soviet Jews to learn the Yiddish language and history. There are no facilities for this; there are only synagogues.

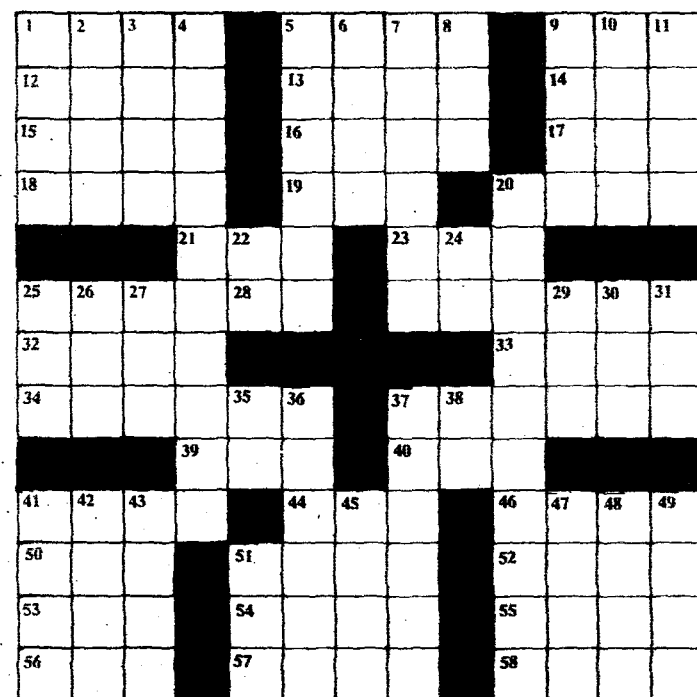
There are no official quotas. No ghettos. No pogroms. Well assimilated, thoroughly Russianized Jews do hold good positions in industry and the professions. These are not the issues. The enigma is why the Soviet authorities persist in the unreal claim that anti-Semitism does not exist; why there is no active campaign to root it out; why Soviet historians, theoreticians, ideologists persist in producing anti-Semitic writings under the aegis of official Soviet publication.

These questions are no more purely the "internal affairs" of the Soviet Union than is racism in the U.S., which the Soviet authorities do not hesitate to criticize.

Peggy Dennis, a journalist in Oakland, Calif., is former foreign editor of the *People's World* and author of the *Autobiography of an American Communist*.

Monkey Business

By Jay Shepherd



ACROSS

- 1 Proper
5 Comfort
9 Dozed _____ (asleep)
12 Adriatic island
13 European mountains
14 After fa
15 Frank
16 Withered
17 _____ the line
18 Escritoire
19 Pekoe
20 Yield
21 Ogle
23 Lupino
25 Perry Mason
28 Certain public
32 Paleozoic and Permian
33 French cheese
34 Guarantee
37 Pigeon fare
39 Tavern
40 Roman god
41 Posted
44 Black or Red
46 Mardi _____
50 Bullfight cheer
51 Aaron or Raymond

DOWN

- 52 Join
53 Amer.
54 Iroquoian tribe
55 Italian city
56 Energy
57 Camping necessity
58 Doctor who identified mosquito transmitting yellow fever

DOWN

- 1 Trudge
2 Mature
3 March 15th
4 Tuxedo, familiarly
5 Bunny or egg
6 Shorewards
7 Ankle injury
8 Wind direction
9 Bone (prefix)
10 Sustenance
11 Escape
20 Thief
22 Hear _____
24 Ne'er-____-well
25 Pasture
26 _____ longa, vita brevis
27 There _____ an old woman...
29 Weapon
30 Tease
31 Affirmative reply
35 Doctor's assistant (abbr.)
36 Make certain
37 Red table wine
38 Egyptian sun god
41 Partner of sandwich
42 Otherwise
43 Tide

- 45 Ireland
47 Awaken
48 Pay
49 Row or fin
51 Wager

Democrats

Continued from page 4.

terprise, but support Carter, given a choice between him and someone more liberal.

•Labor-liberals like the Democratic Agenda people who are opposed to both Carter and his policies and would like to see Teddy Kennedy or someone similar challenge Carter in 1980.

•Liberals and moderates who are critical of Carter but who see him as the best hope for continued Democratic rule.

In the convention voting, the conservatives and the liberal-moderate loyalists won out. The result of a CBS delegate poll on 1980 presidential choices nearly duplicated the vote on the anti-Carter resolutions: 58 percent favored Carter, 34 percent favored Kennedy, and 8 percent favored either Jerry Brown or someone else.

But had the vote been on the issues, the labor-liberals would probably have had the majority. The sign of this was the vote on the national health insurance resolution, which had started out as an opposition resolution, but was given the DNC imprimatur on Sunday. Several speakers made the same objections to it that had been made to the energy and inflation resolutions—it was anti-free enterprise and inflationary—but this time these objections had no effect. The resolution carried by voice vote with near unanimity.

Memphis blues again.

Both Fraser and Harrington expressed satisfaction at the results. Fraser said that the 40 percent opposition foreshadowed a fierce battle when Congress considered the budget cuts. Harrington saw in the vote a new alignment of Democrats, pitting the left, led by the Democratic Agenda, against the Carter forces.

But as Fraser and Harrington acknowledged, there is a growing gap between victories or near-victories in Democratic Party conclaves and popular majorities in elections. The reform of the Democratic Party, which brought not only the mid-term convention, but the spread of primary elections and state financing, has had a paradoxical result: It has made the party at once more internally democratic, but far less powerful in its relation to candidates or the general public. No one knows this better than Carter who parlayed his role as a political outsider into primary victories and finally the nomination.

There is some question, therefore, how much impact Memphis will have—whatever the results. For the Democratic Agenda, no less than Carter, the test in the next two years will be its ability to develop support outside immediate circles—among the union rank-and-file, blacks, Hispanics, women, the angry poor, and the discontented middle classes. Barring that, its best efforts inside the Democratic Party—of which Memphis was certainly one—will not lead to electoral victories or a popular realignment.

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S.F. left views Jones

Continued from page 5.

Jones also had by that time at least passing connections with most left groups in the Bay Area, many of whom had sought out Peoples Temple to broaden and expand their public events. Among tendencies on the left, Jones seemed closest to those who shared his strong pro-Soviet views. (In a letter in the February 1978 edition of the Soviet *New Times*, a leader of the American Russian Institute of San Francisco defends Peoples Temple as "progressive" because it had given the Institute "unrestricted material and work help" and because Jones "preaches that the Soviet Union is the Peoples Temple's 'spiritual homeland.'") Also, Jones was slightly more likely to be defended by those leftists who advocate centralized, disciplined organization.

After the Guyana disaster, those who had been closest to Jones—not surprisingly—were most at a loss to explain the deaths and most defensive of Jones' good works.

"I will not be silent about what he did," Goodlett, one of Jones' firmest supporters, said recently. "He made many people's lives meaningful. He showed the power of organization. Who prior to that time could turn out 1,000 people for a demonstration? Who else fed people?"

Goodlett brushed aside the earlier warnings by defectors. "Why should I believe them?" he said. "They were scurrilous people."

When asked if supporters should have paid more attention to the internal workings of Peoples Temple, he argued that it was impossible for outsiders—even ones as close to the Temple as he was—to check on possible abuses inside the Temple.

"They tell me a lot of people died on farms in Russia," he said by way of explaining his relationship to Peoples Temple, "and a lot of people died building railroads in Siberia. You may not get everything you pay for, but everything you get you will certainly pay for.... Do you support the Soviet Union? You can only judge from the outside."

From the outside, Peoples Temple looked impressive to Goodlett and many others, but even from that vantage point evidence of questionable practices was growing.

Others draw a different lesson from analogies with the Soviet Union or with the well-established FBI persecution of the Black Panther Party. "Always make sure the people have a voice, more than they have in the system," concludes Joann Molloy, a white organizer in the Western Addition who got Peoples Temple support in the campaign to elect city commissioners from districts rather than the city as a whole. *Socialist Review* collective member Barbara Easton urgently argues that "organizations that call themselves left shouldn't have any privileged status about criticism."

Experience with Stalinism and with the criminality inside the Black Panther Party leads many Bay Area leftists, now burned by People's Temple, to emphasize even more the importance of open criticism, even among apparent "comrades."

However, Jones supporter, Yvonne Golden, principal at the alternative school where 150-175 Temple children attended before the exodus to Guyana, argues that "the left can't be accountable for everything that goes wrong in a left organization."

Golden turns questions about Peoples Temple back on the U.S. "If people give up their homes, their ties to go somewhere far away to live, this country should ask some questions," she says. "Why were so many disillusioned with this society?... Why did so many people have need to go outside their home to find what society should have provided for them?... When we talk about a cult of death in society, we have to think of countries we're aligned with—Chile, Iran and, worst of all, South Africa. People die there every day. Is that a cult of death?"

Golden and Goodlett still doubt that the end came to Jonestown as the press has so far reported. They don't go as far as the current Black Panther newspaper, which describes Jonestown as a haven of "total equality," suggests that the CIA was controlling Jones through mind-altering drugs, implies that some reporters covering Jonestown were CIA agents and finally charges that the Jonestown deaths were "genocide," not suicide by cyanide.

"Because this is the story being promoted by the government, we must assume it

is a lie," the party editorializes. "It is quite possible that the neutron bomb was used at Jonestown.... Jonestown had to be wiped out. It was too much of a success, too much of an embarrassment to the American government."

Most of the Bay Area left, even those who still think there's a chance that Peoples Temple was infiltrated or that a real conspiracy against Jones existed, is at least beginning to ask questions about "how to be comradely and critical," as New American Movement leader Dorothy Healey says, or to raise its guard against the "cult of personality," as Jones supporter Willie Brown now advises.

Since the press has generally treated Peoples Temple as a problem of weird religions or cults, the left has generally not taken too hard a beating. Nevertheless, some people worry, as Joann Molloy does, that "Jones' quasi-socialism will ruin the name of socialism in this town and make things even worse, if possible."

It is worth remembering that the people who followed Jones were looking for a democratic, egalitarian, cooperative, non-racist alternative to American society. It is also worth remembering that Jones was able to take advantage of those impulses to subvert the very hopes he quickened in his followers.

Although Jones ultimately relied on coercion, deception, "mind control" techniques, and hucksterism to build and cement his organization, he also succeeded in winning his thousands of supporters by preaching a socialist gospel that was combined with a sense of community, an appeal to the spirit and emotions as well as more rational political ideals, and immediate attention to material and emotional needs of followers. His abuse of such approaches to organizing should not completely discredit those tactics, if they are combined with thoroughgoing democracy and a more sensible political vision in touch with reality and promising something less than the millennium now.

Jones' successes and ultimate failure deserves serious reflection on the left in order to minimize the chances of such disasters in the future. Equally important, as one elder Berkeley leftist concluded, "What the left needs to do is get itself together. If there were sensible, constructive channels for change around, then people wouldn't be so attracted to these ridiculous cults."



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LIFE IN THE U.S.

PEOPLES TEMPLE

Confession letters to 'Dad' Jones tell of guilt and fear

By David Moberg

THE NEARLY 1,000 PEOPLE WHO followed Jim Jones to his jungle utopia in Guyana were looking hard for things they couldn't find in the U.S.—meaning, purpose, self-esteem, freedom, individual fulfillment, community, commitment, power, cooperation, equality, happiness.

Sifting through the alternatives offered in America's culture, looking at the models from their own families and communities, and reflecting on their personal efforts to satisfy such worthy cravings, they often responded harshly and critically not only to American society but also to their families, to themselves and to faith in a God who surely could not exist and permit so much suffering, injustice and evil in the world.

Jim Jones played on these hopes and doubts to create his tyranny in the ostensible service of freedom. He intensified and polarized these sentiments so that Jonestown, and especially Jones himself, came to embody perfection and everything outside of it was potentially threatening or evil.

Inside the community and within each follower Jones tried to establish his benevolent despotism by tearing down each individual. Then, in order for followers to fulfill their original desires, they had to be totally subordinate to the community, which in turn was dominated by Jones.

Jones, in other words, sought a comprehensive, sophisticated master-slave relationship. He tried to make 1,000 other people part of his ego, so that his life was theirs—and his death as well. Moreover, he wanted them willingly, enthusiastically to abnegate themselves and to aggrandize him. "I am the only god you'll ever know," he repeatedly told followers.

To do that Jones, the Father, familiarly known as "Dad," employed tactics that are remarkably like those of many disturbed families that deny the autonomy of the children, foster a sealed-off separate reality, exercise control through guilt, and thrive on the illusion of the perfect, powerful, and judgmental but loving, godlike parent.

Jones didn't rely alone on the family imagery. He played on the fears and anxieties common to nearly all tightly-knit societies or organizations, such as treachery. He also used socialist and other radical ideals as means of exercising control, for example, denouncing someone called "on the platform" at the nightly, lengthy meetings as a "capitalist" for breaking rules.

Although Jones relied on public shaming, physical punishment, inculcation of fears of outside enemies, potentially armed guards and other forces to bind people to the Temple community, like a clever but demonic parent, he enlisted his followers' help in suppressing their own doubts and minimizing their ability to act without Jones' guidance.

This tactic is revealed dramatically and poignantly in some of the letters of "self-analysis" found strewn on the ground at Jonestown, not far from the stacks of bodies. Yet they also show the conflicts that existed in Jonestown despite the effective, pervasive "total control."

Conflict even erupted at the very end. Partial contents of a tape recording made

Jones was a perfectionist, and he created a near-perfect master-slave relationship.

during the final "revolutionary suicide" have been leaked to the press. The tape reveals that there was considerable anguish and even open dispute over the wisdom of the cyanide poisoning. At one point Jones' wife, Marceline, challenged him, and others argued for escape to the Soviet Union or fighting against enemies.

Guyanese authorities also claim that at least 70 cult members, most of them adults, were poisoned by injection, a further indication of disagreement and the murder, as well as suicide, that occurred Nov. 18.

Yet Jones' spell held for many. "Dad has brought us this far," one voice reportedly said. "My vote is to go with Dad."

Throughout the letters Peoples Temple members disparage themselves, grovel in guilt, and dismiss their needs and complaints as signs of weakness, treachery or non-revolutionary consciousness. They repudiated American capitalism, which many saw as having deeply scarred or permanently impaired them. They proclaimed determination to stay in Jonestown, gratitude to Jones, commitment to socialism, even if tortured, and a willingness to die.

The exercise in self-analysis not only helped to reinforce the Jonestown ideology, but also provided Jones with intelligence about people's weak points and community problems.

Whether they were digging deeply into their psyches or trying to fool Jones, people followed his guidance in self-criticism.

"Jones would give hints," explained survivor Tina Bogue Turner, 22. "He would want to know about your sex life, whether you wanted to have sex with him, how sincere you are, how you would prove your sincerity to the organization, your lesbianism, your homosexuality, your bisexuality, talk against the American government, whether you'd commit suicide, feelings toward being tortured, what you would do if something happened to him, how much food would rule you, how you feel about John [the six-year-old son of Grace Stoen, whom Jones may have fathered and was fanatically determined to keep out of her hands], going back to the United States. Then he'd use you as a dummy for others" by calling the person up "on the floor" during a meeting.

What kinds of criticism were people expected to make of themselves? "I'm an

course I must say that guilt does drive me alot to prevent me from doing some of these things. Not just fear but fear was the beginning of my consciousness

Oftentimes I get so tired of routine, discipline, studying, pressures of trying to meet the immediate electrical needs of Jonestown. Inside I rebel because I wish so much to just be able to do a job—

elitist," Turner enumerated, "I'm a bitch, I still have racism in different parts of my character, I'm not doing my work to my full ability, I tend to exploit people, I try to get away with whatever I can without too much trouble, I feel hostile toward you [Jones], I'd like to see you dead. Also, I don't feel guilty enough for the sufferings and anxiety of poor people and underprivileged people of the world."

"You wrote down that you were callous and didn't follow his example as a loving humanitarian and you should be shot. Most got their wish. If you read these analyses most got just what they asked for, except they didn't know it."

Leslie Wilson, 21, a black woman who grew up in the Temple and escaped with her three-year-old son, also "said what I was expected to say: 'I was selfish, self-centered, had capitalist tendencies. I feel guilty.' He said guilt would make you grow. You'd say, 'I feel guilty because I wasted money,' and maybe next time you wouldn't. Sex was another emphasis. You're not supposed to indulge. You're not supposed to want a partner."

The letters probably should be read in several ways: true confessions, coded complaints, acts of submission, attempts at evasion, catharsis of personal conflicts and clues to both real life and the ideology of Jonestown.

Here are partial texts, with spelling unchanged, of a few letters obtained by IN THESE TIMES:

Dear Dad,

First I want to thank you for asking us to make an honest evaluation of ourselves Before I came to Jonestown I thought about weather I should come or not and I said to myself I've never known Dad to fail me yet. I said Dad healed my body and made me aware of what was happening in the U.S. When I was in the states we would see films of Jonestown and it looked beautiful to me so I really thought I was coming to a paradise. But when I got here most things looked different and I really hated working in the fields in the hot sun and sometimes getting soaked from the rain. I didn't like it because some people were able to change jobs in no time and when I put in for a job change it was denied although it was explained to me why....

At this point I feel like a bitch. I'm too passive. I complain too much about conditions. I feel guilty because I wasted money in the states on food and clothing....

I have a desire to speak out about the injustice of the oppressed people around the world, but if I had to go anyplace it would be back to the U.S. to fight in the streets if necessary for the freedom of black people and would gladly die. Dad, I do not want my living to be in vein.

I do feel that you love all of us very much and I feel better because I have expressed myself to you. I am not a good socialist and I should be criticized and in-

Continued on next page.

Continued from page 19.

involve myself in other things. Sometimes when I see others on the floor I feel it should be me because I do not feel that I have grown as I should. [Mary M. then complains about Guyanese seeing the medical staff even though she hasn't been able to make an appointment.]

The last thing I dislike is that I pass by the kitchen during dinner time and see people with a nice plate. Then when the field workers get in line there is a limit, meaning a teaspoon of vegetables and maybe two spoons of rice and I'm not a big eater. If I stand to be criticized I would gladly appreciate it. Thank you, Dad, for asking us to evaluate ourselves.

Although Mary shared some common complaints about the food, the hard work, the inequality within Jonestown (on food and job preferences), and the contrast between publicity and reality of the settlement, she had learned to dismiss many of her complaints as "bitching" and passivity. She also learned to feel guilty about having needs when others—children in Jonestown, the oppressed, blacks in the U.S. were suffering more. She remained grateful to "Dad" for the original healing that initiated her dependency on Jones and for his authority and the criticism that flowed from his "throne," both of which provided her guidance for being a "good socialist."

A letter dated 11-7-78 from Bea L., probably in her late 40s, reveals more anguish, more guilt, more subordination and concentration on the central themes of "structure" and loyalty:

Dad,

When I first came here I use to think about the states all the time. When I first got here which will be a year next mo. I wanted to go back because I could not deal with all the structure and because of K. [her child?] still being at the ranch. Now I see how important the structure is and I'm dealing with it.

I am an anarchist. I hate anything to do with paper work, time sheets, etc. I guess I think I'm better or something—elitism. I have a very low opinion of myself. I think my brain suffered damage from not having the right kind of food as a child. You mentioned something about that one time and I think it applies to me. [She says she's happy her son scored highest on his junior high intelligence test.] He sure doesn't take after me. I have you to thank for that.

I also think I'm a traitor, not a revolutionary because I'm afraid of fighting because I'm sure I will just get shot and not die, captured then tortured. That's what I'm afraid of. I couldn't stand to see the children tortured. I still think of mine first. I couldn't want my baby dropped from a window. I'd probably fall apart. I can't be trusted. That's why I always vote for revolutionary suicide.

I am a chicken shit traitor. I don't really want to think about Victor Jara [a Chilean folksinger tortured and killed by the Chilean military government] how he suffered and died for what he believed in because I don't think I believe in anything enough to die for it the way he did—torture. I know you said that's not the thing to do at this time but I sure as hell need to be shot.

My son is afraid to fight I think? He said he wanted to stay with the children a few months back the time we drank the Koolaid. I thought it was real. B. stood very close to me squeezing my hand tight and never saying anything but I knew. I never said anything to him about my being scared to fight but he probably knows. Shit, what can I say. I'm sorry I don't ever want to go back and will stay here and die for this great cause if necessary.

The deeper her fears—of death and torture, dominant themes especially in the last couple years of Jones' life—the deeper her guilt became entrenched. Bea L. represents a common Jonestown loyalist pattern: a "low opinion of myself" matched with gratitude to Jones for every thing good, even her son's talents.

She dismisses her dislike for paperwork routine with two of the worst Jonestown epithets—"anarchist" and "elitist." Anyone who did not accept the severe regimen was attacked as an anarchist—"the worst

thing that could happen," according to Tina Turner.

Bea felt guilty that she violated the Jones code by feeling special attachment to her own children and that she was frightened in the practice suicide. When she survived that, she tried to assuage her guilt over her fear and implicit lack of commitment to "the cause" by pledging ever more firmly never to leave Jonestown.

"Elitism," often the sin of thinking well of oneself or being preoccupied with self in any way, was a cardinal offense in the theoretically egalitarian Jonestown (which in fact had layers of privilege and centralized power that were apparent but denied in order to preserve the myth of perfect

leaving and to open my mind to the reality of the pain around me."

As vigilant a guard of himself as Jones could hope for, Chris L. shared the Jones vision that suffering and pain are essential for a true communist mentality and that attention to one's own needs (rather than full-time devotion to sufferings far away) is elitist. Once brought into line by fear, he eventually was ruled by guilt.

"Negativity" and "rebellion" were strictly forbidden within Jonestown, but were directed against U.S. society, critics and enemies of Jonestown and the character flaws of each member. That accentuated the black/white, good/evil antinomies, making Jones and Jonestown seem the only sanctuary, "the only meaning-

an alitis [elitist].

Dad I realize that Jonestown is no. I in my book. To United States people see it as good, to Russia they see it as better, but to Jonestown I see it as best.

The letters give a partial but compelling picture of conflicts within the community that threatened either its rigid boundaries or Jones' total control. Self-confidence and perceptions of individual needs were denounced as elitism or selfishness. Resistance to the harsh "structure" was anarchy. Internal dissent was treachery, bitchiness or negativity. Desire for intimacy and sexuality or family ties that would reduce the direct dependence of the Jonestown "children" on "Dad" was condemned as selfishness.

Guilt was encouraged as a sign of said awareness; anyone who didn't feel guilty was even more truly guilty for not even realizing it. Any fear of pain, suffering or death was taken as a sign of lack of commitment, disloyalty, and absence of a reason for living.

Each individual was encouraged to elaborate his or her shortcomings as a way of striving toward perfection, which was embodied in Jim Jones, to whom all blessings flowed. Any failure to follow his example or his rules, any expression of doubt or desire to leave would deeply hurt "Dad," who loved them all dearly, showed the greatest humanitarianism and had already helped them all immensely—curing illnesses, saving "incorrigibles" from drugs or crime, giving meaning and understanding to otherwise vacant lives.

As Jones' paranoia deepened and his sense of personal doom increased, he pressed even harder on the issue of loyalty. He feared the defections would increase and his control, which depended on keeping people forever within the bounds of the Temple, would be threatened.

Rather than see his "socialism" as fulfillment of each individual within the community, a fundamentally democratic impulse, he pushed in precisely the opposite direction, denouncing all individual autonomy and satisfaction as elitism, selfishness and lack of sufficient guilt for the sufferings of others. Loyalty ultimately demanded as well a willingness to die for Jones and "the cause." Jones generated fears in his followers of living without him, but even more he held up "revolutionary suicide" as the ultimate expression of purpose in life.

Jones was, among other things, a perfectionist. He imagined that he would define and make the perfect society. The problem was that the perfect society can never be defined or made by one individual, unless, miraculously, every individual abandoned in advance his or her own judgment.

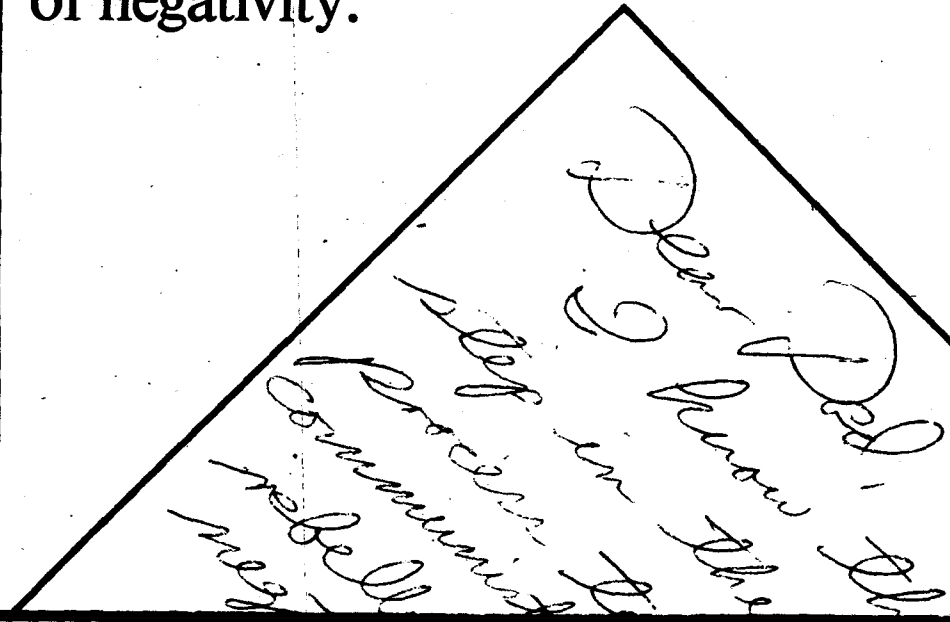
The pursuit of such perfection, carried to extremes as Jones did, can only lead to the heaven/hell, loyalty/treachery, structure/anarchy dichotomies that plagued Jonestown and left no room for the ambiguities of real life. Ultimately, Jones' pursuit of his perfect utopia, centered on him, foundered on the impossibility, despite his incredible success with "mind control," of creating a "perfect" master-slave relationship.

The dissent, the criticisms, the complaints continued to well up, even in these letters. But the letters were intended to staunch the flow of "negativity." After people wrote their comments, Dr. Hardat Sukhdeo, a psychiatrist specializing in cults who interviewed Jonestown survivors, observed, "This would make them feel guilty. Then they'd say something that would assuage the guilt—such as that they would die for the cause."

However, the contradictions within Jonestown grew too great as Jones, feeling threatened by more breaches in the cult wall and by enemies from outside, began to lose control of himself and the community. When a few people came to doubt his power and his goodness sufficiently that they dared to leave, Jones could see death as the only alternative to imperfection and as his final statement of protest against an unjust world.

"We are sitting on a powder keg," Jones' last tape says. "If we can't live in peace, let us die in peace." The powder keg was Jonestown, and ultimately was Jones himself.

When dissent welled up, the letters were intended to staunch the flow of negativity.



equality). Chris L. wrote to "Dad" specifically "on elitism" in a neatly typed manuscript:

I know that I have a big problem with this. I think I am better than people in a lot of ways. The fact that I spend so much time thinking about myself and concerned with my own problems is a good example. I do not spend as much time with children as I could or should.... I find time to do what I want to do. I take special privilege with things that I think that I can get away with.... Of course I must say that guilt does drive me a lot to prevent me from doing some of these things not just fear but fear was the beginning of my consciousness.... I also think that I am a good electrician and that I am above checking and that my ideas are above criticism. Whenever this pattern occurs I must attribute it to elitism.

The worst elitism I believe is the elitism that one can have by thinking that doing one's job is all that one needs to do for Jonestown. Oftentimes I get so tired of routine, discipline, studying, pressures of trying to meet the immediate electrical needs of Jonestown. Inside I rebel because I wish so much to just be able to do a job. [Chris apologizes for not studying Jones' current events lessons sufficiently and developing sensitivity to those in need.] I know that the blacks in Zaire and South Africa are in desperate conditions but I find reasons to be more concerned with myself than about these oppressed people.... When one has this pattern it is like a scar. It stays with you forever.... All my life I have practiced shutting people out of my life.... Now I am told that I have to tear away these comfortable blankets of protection and expose my consciousness to the searing pain of reality....

I know that this is just another stage in my learning process to attain a true communist outlook on life. Even though I succumb to rebellion at times and let negativity rule when... I might have to walk home barefoot from the shower because someone has stolen my boots, I never let the vision stay too far out of my sight. I never let myself believe that I am above leaving so I always guard myself for it and the feelings that it renders. I realize that this is the only meaningful way to head for communism. So with this in mind I once more declare and commit myself to never

ful way to head for communism," as Chris' loyalty oath declares.

Janice W., a five-year veteran of the "cause," showed extreme guilt and self-negation. Like Bea's letter, this one shows how traumatic the trial suicide was for many and how people responded to that fear of death with greater self-hatred and pledges of devotion to Jones who "saved" these unworthy souls from the death they, like Janice, felt that they deserved. Her comments indicate how Jones was not only the members' sole acceptable model but also the only person worthy of their concern, with the exception of remote, abstract symbols of the oppressed.

I don't want to leave. When I came I didn't really know myself. I had never really took a good look at my faults. While being in Jonestown I try to take an example after you but instead I use other people example.... When I came to Jonestown I didn't like it here. I didn't like the structure, the people who led the structure....

The 1st crisis [a "white night" suicide drill] I said, 'I'll never see my brothers and sisters again or my mother.' What I was really saying [was] I'm not ready to die yet. It was not that I was scared. I was not willing to take a responsibility to do something good for once. I was not thinking about "dad" and "John" [six-year-old John Stoen]. I was thinking of self, something that don't mean Jack Shit. When I look at that I say how stupid of a mistake that was, and all the hell people put you through like Stone [Tim Stoen, who was suing Jones], Debbie [Blakey, a trusted aide who escaped in May] and others. Now when I look back I say I wish we could of died then. When you talk about all the guilt you have and how a good dad you are while I listen to that speech or that analization of you. I felt like crying each time.... I felt like crying cause everything you said was truth and truth has no defense.

What I have felt guilt about the most is before I came over here I threw money away like it was trash.... Their is so much guilt now when I think about it and I see how you saved....

To me a traitor is someone who is always trying to do wrong, who has more excuses than the right excuses to bring harm. And I feel that's what I've done, use every excuse to get out of work, be

ART & ENTERTAINMENT

FILM

A story of three Medeas

By Carol Becker

Jules Dassin, writer, director and producer, made the film *A Dream of Passion* after he watched an Italian trial where a woman pled for the murder of her three children sat in the courtroom day after day, sullen, suffering, but unrepentant. Dassin could not reconcile his own responses—he felt deep compassion, but was also repulsed and horrified.

In *A Dream of Passion*, Dassin recreates the motivations that lead a woman who loves her children to kill them. He deals with a hurt that must be answered, with love turned to obsession and revenge, and with infanticide.

The subject of domestic violence is not easy to take on, and we usually hear about it through newspaper or TV reports that coolly exploit the subject. Dassin instead tries to understand a "crime of passion." Juxtaposing the Medea myth and the lives of two modern women, Dassin shows us how such reversals of emotion can occur; watching, we remember the same sensations, such emotional reversals, from our own lives.

A Dream of Passion has been billed as a drama of two Medeas. But it is in fact the story of three.

At center is Melina Mercouri as Maya, the mature actress involved in becoming Medea. We watch her go through "creative birth pains," struggling to find the truth of the character in herself (the part of her that can understand the suffering of Medea) so she can bring authority to perhaps the most challenging female role in Greek tragedy.

And there is Melina Mercouri become Medea, enacting Euripides' vision of the foreign queen abandoned by her ambitious and ungrateful husband who takes the Princess of Corinth as his new bride, to further his own position. Euripides' Medea punishes Jason's cold betrayal by giving the new queen a poisoned wedding gift and slaying her own two sons, whose flesh she says she can no longer touch because it is too like their father's.

Finally there is the true story of an American woman living in Greece (played by Ellen Burstyn) who became known as the "Medea of Glyfada" after she killed her children to repay her husband for taking a Greek lover.

Contrasts and confrontation.

Maya visits the American Brenda Collins in prison, where she has been entombed, forgotten, surrounded by nuns and psychiatrists, reliving her act in her imagination. Like the Italian woman, Brenda does not plead insanity, nor does she repent. Her revenge is that her husband knows she murdered their children in calculated repayment for his betrayal. At first Maya visits this woman for publicity; but she comes back to learn from Brenda how to play Medea, to extract Brenda's pain,



The American woman (Burstyn) sacrifices her children; the actress playing Medea (Mercouri) searches for the reason.

to understand the motivation for her act.

These two women make a brilliant contrast. Mercouri could not be more exotic. Ellen Burstyn could not be more fundamentally Christian, more essentially American; but they are obsessed with the same questions.

Their confrontation leads to a powerful monologue in which Melina Mercouri and the character of Maya disentangle visually and we watch Mercouri step out, alone, immobile, without props or disguise to reveal to the camera (now also exposed) the passion and motivation of her own life, the conflicts between the desire to nurture others and her own ego.

Maya, or Mercouri (we are not sure) reveals to us her abortion at 18, the choice she made not to have a child. She was "young and going places" she tells us, and could not be tied down. We see her pain as she calls herself "childless." The more she reveals to the camera, the more we see what in her she is calling upon to play the part, to become Medea.

Maya admits that she has let nothing and no one hold her back. Even her closest friendships with women have been trampled. Maya's lifelong friend, Maria, once also an actress, now in her own words "grown fat and old," sits in the shadows as Maya tells the story of how she stole the man Maria loved, how she acted out of the coldness and vanity of youth for no reason other than her need to conquer. And now she looks to Maria as she says, "I have never cried for a man, only for a woman."

Juxtaposed to Maya and to the character of Euripides' Medea we have Brenda, who knows nothing of her Greek precursor. For her the justification of the murders comes from the Bible—quotations about adultery, desire, the love a husband must have for only his wife's breasts. This strange mixture of religious fanaticism and sexual obsession recreates a schizophrenic character for us who defends her infanticide as an act of sanity and of love.

Tragic film.

You leave this film with a weakness in your bones, as if you have experienced an emotional trauma; it is a literal catharsis. At its best, *A Dream of Passion* becomes like Greek tragedy. Aristotle maintained a tragedy should depend on the audience's imagination and should not oversimplify the complexities. Dassin, too, follows Aristotle's claim that the poet can transmit fear and pity without manipulating his audience.

But the film breaks down when Dassin insists on showing us the room where Brenda murdered her children, with chalk drawings still intact on the floor. And most painfully the movie fails when we are thrown back to Brenda's kitchen where she is addressing a Father's Day Card to her husband, under a placard of "Home Sweet Home" while the water runs across the bloodied knife that we have watched her use to murder her children in their beds. The colors begin to fade in these flashbacks, like a badly produced exploitation film. The lights are turned on too bright and Maya looms in the shadows. Dassin destroys the tension that has kept the layers of the drama woven together up to this point.

Perhaps he meant to demonstrate, with this contrast of visual styles, the difference between Euripides' intense psychological understanding of Medea and the exploitive way most news reporting makes such acts sensational without analysis or compassion. Or perhaps he wanted to demonstrate how Maya drives Brenda to such explicitness because Maya herself needs to see it to make it real. But when Dassin falls into this explicit illustration, it is a failure in vision or a loss of nerve.

It's a strong comment on the powerful effect of the film that these moments stand out as shoddy and ineffective. The restaging of Euripides' play, amphitheater, chorus and all, provides a dramatic resolution that holds together all the parts of the drama. Maya's portrait of Medea uses what she has learned about Brenda, Medea and herself. This is why the last images, those of the production of *Medea*, are so haunting.

Through a strong development of character we are brought very close to these women, so that we feel identification and compassion. And the subject that first appeared alien and painful has become known to us. The film proves the truth of Maya's response to the BBC interviewer who asks, "Can you justify the acts of Brenda Collins?" To which Maya responds, "Wrong question, BBC. If you ask the right question, you get the right answer."

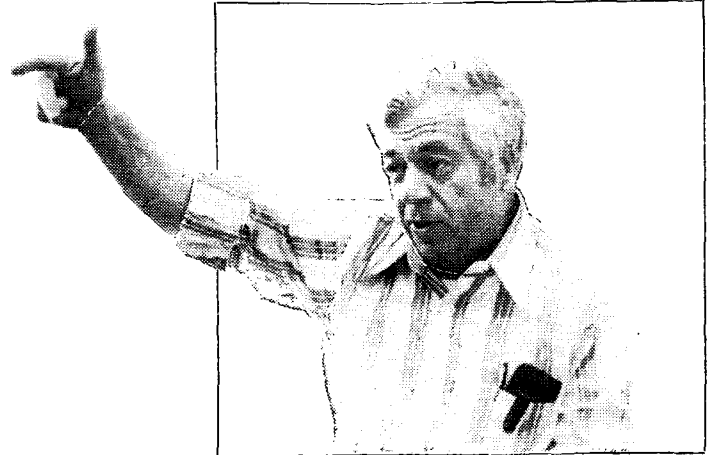
We understand these women as well as we do because Dassin himself moves beyond judgment. He succeeded in his attempt to understand the Italian woman whose trial inspired *A Dream of Passion*, and he focused on the real issue—the hurt and powerlessness of both Brenda and Medea, that leads them to act out their rage, with the only weapons they have.

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Editor's Note: On Sept. 8, 1978, over 5,000 anti-Shah protesters were killed or wounded in Tehran.

THE FACE

Amidst the towering infernos
Crushing down,
And the mass of bodies
Storming against a wall of helmeted, masked soldiers
With fixed bayonets
There was the face.
A composite picture of Clytaemnestra
On her way to cut down Agamemnon,
Of Delacroix's bare-bosomed *citoyen*
Fighting at the Barricade,
Of the Russian *babuska*
Hurling stones at *The Winter Palace*,
Of the raging-red Spaniard *La Pasionara*,
of Munch's *The Scream*,
Of the agonized features of a mother with a child in *Guernica*,
And of the images of a thousand enraged female faces in black and white
Superimposed.

Yet,
A singular face
Sad and sensuous
All too human.
A face, wrapped in a crow-claw-wrinkled skin
With lentil-shaped moles
Here and there,
And wide-open, cold-black tiger-eyes
burning bright,
With an anger unspeakable.

The face opens its gumless mouth
A Kermani accented voice
Which sends a shiver through the spine
Shouts:
Marg bar Shah!

Marg bar Shah!

She wishes death of the tyrant.
'Marga,' 'Morta,' 'Mortal'
Old words in the old mouth,
Words in tongues, live and dead
Superimposed.

Suddenly the voice cracks,
The corner of the mouth twitches.
A question mark flashes over the brow
A shock wave of utter disbelief
Then a spasm disfigures the face
And all is over.

Two blazing copper bullets mined in Kerman
Made in Detroit
And fired from a Uzi machine gun
Shatter the roof of her gumless mouth.
She is dead.
The woman from Kerman.

Marga, Morta, Mortal.
The tyrant liveth
It was the old woman who died.

"Abandon all hope you who enter this woeful city!"
Is this Dante's Inferno?
But, we who have seen The Face
Which was turned in a second
Into a rag of bones
On that Black Friday
September the Eighth
In the year of our Lord
1978
Will not abandon hope.

Farhang Zabeeh

December, 1978

Farhang Zabeeh is a professor of philosophy at Roosevelt University in Chicago. He has received the "All Nation" poetry award from Triton College in Illinois.

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OVER THE RAINBOW

Once upon a time, *The Wizard of Oz* was a populist fable

By Peter Dreier

Many reviewers have criticized *The Wiz* for its appropriation of one of America's most treasured fantasies. *The Wizard of Oz*. Some disapproved of replacing Judy Garland's youthful Kansas farm girl with Diana Ross' 24-year-old New York schoolteacher. *Newsweek*, for example, lamented turning a story about a "child's magic adventures" into a hip ghetto extravaganza about a "grown-up black woman learning to put away childish things and 'face life.'"

But whether we prefer the 1939 Victor Fleming version featuring "Over the Rainbow" or the 1978 Sidney Lumet version with the song "No Bad News," almost all Americans are familiar with the cast of characters as originally written in Lyman Frank Baum's 1900 tale, *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*: the Tinman, the Lion, the Scarecrow, the Witch, and the Wizard of Oz himself.

What most Americans don't know is the political allegory to be found in Baum's story, about the Populist period in late 19th century history.

Baum was born near Syracuse, N.Y., in 1856 to a wealthy family and enjoyed some success writing plays. In 1887, he moved with his wife and two sons to Aberdeen, S.D., a small prairie town, where he edited the local weekly until it failed in 1891. That year he moved to Chicago, where he continued to write, and where he authored *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz* in 1900.

Baum's travels and experiences placed him amidst the whirlpool of Populist agitation of the period.

His brief stay in South Dakota spanned the period of the formation of the Populist Party, an attempt by Midwestern farmers to use the ballot to restrain the power of the banks, railroads, and other economic interests that had been squeezing farmers through a combination of low prices, high freight rates, and continued indebtedness. The Populists, an alliance of farmers and some urban workers (many affiliated with the Knights of Labor), advocated government ownership and operation of the railroads, telephone and telegraph industries, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, secret ballot elections, direct election of senators, and silver coinage. Although their presidential candidate, James B. Weaver of Iowa, lost to Democrat Grover Cleveland in 1892, he did receive about 9 percent of the popular vote and carried Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, North Dakota and (significantly for *Wizard* aficionados) Kansas, a leading Populist state, and the setting of the book's beginning.

Baum's move to Chicago coincided with the 1893 depression and the militant stirrings of the labor movement. The depression of the 1890s was the worst in U.S. history up to that time. Farm prices sank to new lows. Unemployment caused havoc, desperation and union militancy among

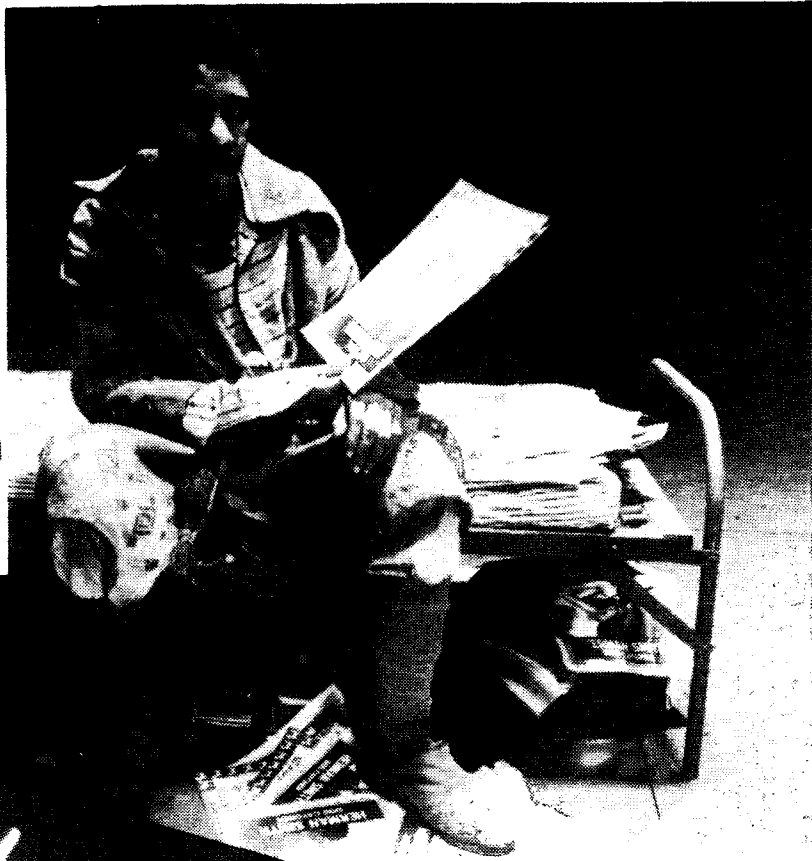
the urban working class. In 1894 American Railway Union president and soon-to-be socialist Eugene Debs led the Pullman strike in and around Chicago. The same year Jacob S. Coxey, a lumber dealer from Massillon, Ohio, and a Populist, led a mass march of unemployed workers to Washington to demand a federal public works program.

Populists received 40 percent of the vote in the 1894 congressional elections and looked forward to winning the Presidency—and the silver standard—in 1896. That election, between Republican William McKinley and Populist-Democrat William Jennings Bryan, revolved around the issue of gold vs. silver. During that campaign Bryan made the speech that concluded: "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold." The election proved a disaster for the Populists. McKinley received 271 electoral votes to Bryan's 176, almost all in the Midwest. Bryan opposed McKinley again in 1900 (when Baum penned *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*), but by then the Populists' strength had been dissipated.

Allegory.

Baum viewed these events from up-close in both rural South Dakota and urban Chicago. He mourned the destruction of the fragile alliance between the Midwestern farmers (the Scarecrow) and the urban industrial workers (the Tinman). Along with Bryan (the Cowardly Lion with a loud roar but little bite), they had been taken down the yellow brick road (the gold standard) that leads nowhere. Each journeyed to the Emerald City seeking favors from the Wizard of Oz (the President). Even the name Oz is an abbreviation of the standard measurement of gold, the ounce. Dorothy, the symbol of Everyman, went along with them, in her silver shoes (changed to ruby in the 1939 movie). She was innocent enough to see the truth before the others.

Along the way they meet the Wicked Witch of the East who, Baum tells us, had kept the little Munchkin people "in bondage for many years, making them slave for her night and day." If we have any doubt as to whom the witch represents, Baum soon tells us. The Tin Woodsman, once an independent and hard-working man, had been put under a spell by the witch so that each time he swung his axe it chopped off a different part of his body. Lacking another trade, he "worked harder than ever." The worker becomes like a machine, incapable of love. (Recall the Tinman singing: "If I only had a heart.") The Scarecrow (farmer) wants the Wizard to give him a brain. The Wicked Witch of the East symbolizes the large industrial corporations and eastern finance.



Clockwise, from left: William Jennings Bryan; Richard Pryor as *The Wiz*, 1978; Dorothy (Judy Garland) and friends, 1939.

The original Yellow Brick Road was the gold standard; the Cowardly Lion was William Jennings Bryan.

Like Coxey's Army, the small group heads toward the Emerald City where the Wizard, hiding behind a papier-mache facade, rules. As they enter the throne room, each member of the group sees something different in the Wizard—like all good politicians, he can be all things to all people.

Later, however, they confront the Wizard directly. They see he is nothing more than "a little man, with a bald head and a wrinkled face."

"I thought Oz was a great Head," Dorothy said. "And I thought Oz was a terrible Beast," said the Tin Woodsman. "And I thought Oz was a Ball of Fire," the Lion said. The Scarecrow thinks he sees a gossamer fairy.

"No, you are all wrong," the man said. "I have been making believe." When Dorothy asks him who he is, really, he replies, "I'm just a common man." The Scarecrow adds, "You're more than that... You're a humbug."

The Wizard admits: "It was a great mistake my ever letting you into the Throne Room. Usually I will not see even my subjects, and so they believe I am something terrible." Those were the days before presidential candidates cam-

paign among the people. They stayed home and "received" delegations. Bryan broke the tradition in 1896—he traveled through the country and roared. This was Baum's Populist message. The powers-that-be can only remain at the throne through deception, people's ignorance and credulity allow the powerful to manipulate and control them.

The Wizard—a former ventriloquist and circus balloonist, a common man from Omaha—is disarmed. Dorothy returns to Kansas with the magical help of her Silver Shoes, but when she gets to Kansas she realizes her shoes "had fallen off in her flight through the air, and were lost forever in the desert." She didn't need the shoes after all to find happiness, safe at home with Aunt Em and Uncle Henry, simple farmers.

Baum even displayed an early sympathy for native Americans of the plains, symbolized in the story by the Winged Monkeys in the West, whose leader tells Dorothy, "Once... we were a free people, living happily in the great forest, flying from tree to tree, eating nuts and fruit and doing just as we pleased without calling any-

body master.... This was many years ago, before Oz came out of the clouds to rule over this land."

Baum realized perhaps that the silver issue had been lost, but that silver was not the crucial issue anyway. The real question was that of power. With the Wizard of Oz dethroned, the Scarecrow (the farmer) rules Emerald City, the Tin Woodman (the industrial worker) rules in the West and the Lion (Bryan) protects smaller beasts in "a small old forest." In Baum's vision, farm interests gain political power, industry moves West, and Bryan, perhaps, returns to Congress. Baum's *Wonderful Wizard of Oz* is at once a children's fantasy and an angry political statement.

In both film versions, the story remains intact, but the message is gone. And a 1977 book, *The Making of the Wizard of Oz* by Aljean Harmetz, spends 329 pages on the history of the film and a psychological portrait of Baum, never mentioning Baum's political sympathies or the social context of the time.

Did Ray Bolger realize he represented America's small farmers? Could Bert Lahr imagine playing William Jennings Bryan? How might Judy Garland have reacted if someone asked her about Populists, nationalized railroads, or silver coinage? *The Wizard of Oz* was made in 1939, during the next major depression, when business was once again challenged by farmers, industrial workers, and progressive politicians; but the story's political references were lost.

The same pattern holds in the 1978 version. Also made during a period of economic hardship. It's ironic that of all people Richard Pryor should play "The Wiz." Among today's black film stars, Pryor has avoided the worst black exploitation films to play roles in social "message" films. He has portrayed an industrial worker (*Blue Collar*), a farmworker (*Which Way Is Up?*), a Father-Divine-like religion flim-flam man (*Car Wash*), and a member of a black worker-owned baseball team trying to survive in the racist South (*Bingo Long and the Traveling All-Stars*).

The Wizards of Hollywood have led American film-goers down another Yellow Brick Road, cashing in on the fantasy and leaving the political allegory behind. ■

Peter Dreier, sociology professor at Tuft's University, teaches a course on film and politics. He wishes to acknowledge his reliance on an essay by Henry M. Littlefield, "The Wizard of Oz: Parable on Populism," *American Quarterly*, 1964.

Merry Angst



Photo by Richard Stromberg

Anxiety? Fear? Loathing? At Christmas? Do we dare mention such feelings at a time when the message we are hearing and trying to convey is one of good cheer and happiness? Once again most of us are searching frantically for those gifts we must give our friends and relatives.

We've been watching television commercials about glorious goodies to buy and serve at the fabulous parties we will give and attend. We are talking to relatives about attending Christmas Day celebrations. Some of us are even planning trips to lovely vacation spots to bask in the sun or ski in the snow. Some of us. Others will do without Christmas celebrations—too poor or too alone. They will resent the Christmas cheer pressed on them by the relentless merchants for whom Christmas means the most cheerful time of the year.

Many, neither poor nor lonely, will suffer Christmas angst, the pain of celebrating a holiday that is not truly theirs for this is the day that the world celebrates the birth of Christ and there are many who are unwilling to join the celebration but who are yet unwilling to demur, participating instead because the social pressure is too great to resist.

At the same time, those for whom

The Second Coming

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer;
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold;
Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

Surely some revelation is at hand;
Surely the Second Coming is at hand.
The Second Coming! Hardly are those words out
When a vast image out of *Spiritus Mundi*
Troubles my sight: somewhere in the sands of the desert
A shape with lion body and the head of a man,
A gaze blank and pitiless as the sun,
Is moving its slow thighs, while all about it
Reel shadows of the indignant desert birds,
The darkness drops again; but now I know
That twenty centuries of stony sleep
Were vexed to nightmare by a rocking cradle,
And what rough beast, its hour come round at last,
Slouches toward Bethlehem to be born?

William Butler Yeats

From *The Pocket Book of Modern Verse*, edited by Oscar Williams (New York: Pocket Books: 1954).

Christmas is an empty ritual suffer great anxiety, fear, and even loathing, hating themselves for looking forward to the gifts they hope to receive, having difficulty buying appropriate gifts for those they feel indebted to, even buying a tree that has no meaning for them except nostalgia, which by itself arouses ambivalence.

Who does not recreate the symbols of the past without a few shudders? Who does not engage in rituals without a sense of loss, lost childhood, lost joys? Particularly those rituals that have lost their meaning. Particularly rituals once celebrated in the heart of the family, as a child protected and loved, and now celebrated as an act of will.

Many celebrate Christmas with great good feeling, with the same pleasure they felt as children, perhaps even with more. But in this season of good will and cheer, we address those for whom Christmas is not such a happy time. To those people, the staff of *IN THESE TIMES* extends its sympathy. Endure, for it will soon be over. And to all the rest, to those who will be saying "Happy holiday!" with sincerity, we extend a Merry Christmas and many another to celebrate. To both the anxious and the merry, we dedicate Yeat's poem.